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US Anti- Arab Sentiment Blamed

Palestinian Killed in ADC Explosion

From Our Washington D.C. Office

In the tense atmosphere surrounding the *Achille Lauro* hijacking, a bomb exploded in the Santa Ana, California offices of the Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee killing the Regional Director Alex Odeh and injuring seven others.

ADC National Chairman James Abourezk expressed "shock and outrage at this criminal act," which he attributed to a rising anti-Arab sentiment in the United States.

The force of the blast inside the three-storey building blew a victim into the street, eyewitnesses said. According to some reports, the bomb was delivered to the ADC office in a booby-trapped parcel. Other reports said that an explosive charge was planted in the ADC office. Odeh was said to have died instantly.

No group claimed responsibility for the bombing. The ADC, however, has long been the target of militant Jewish groups such as the Jewish Defence League led by Rabbi Meir Kahane.

In a press conference held at the ADC National Headquarters in Washington, Abourezk condemned the bombing as a criminal act. He said that as a result of the *Achille Lauro* hijacking, all Arab-Americans "are being made scapegoats for an act committed by four people in the Middle East with whom they had no connection whatsoever." The others injured in the blast are reportedly members of a teachers union, who have offices in the building.

Odeh, appearing on an ABC news affiliate the evening before the bombing, had praised PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat for his role in mediating the release of the passengers and crew aboard the hijacked cruise ship. Calling Arafat "a man of peace," Odeh said that "the media ought to give the PLO and Arafat recognition, inform the public about the PLO as a political organisation, and Arafat in particular as the chairman of the PLO, who is a man of peace."

His comments were aired amidst US administration praise for the efforts of Italy and Tunisia in assisting in the interception and hijacking of the Egyptian airliner carrying the four hijackers. While the administration rather begrudgingly thanked Egypt for their role in ending the crisis, the efforts of the PLO were pointedly ignored.

The mid-air capture of the Palestinian commandos by American F-14 fighter jets dispatched from an aircraft carrier positioned in the Mediterranean boosted patriotic sentiment in the United States. The US administration's decision to hijack

Alex Odeh

the Egyptian plane carrying the four commandos and two Palestinian officials was bolstered by bipartisan praise in Congress.

It is this surge in American pride, this stand tall, "cowboy" attitude the former Senator Abourezk warned against. He criticised President Reagan, his spokespeople and the media for creating "an atmosphere in which people who are unbalanced can convince themselves that planting bombs is an act condoned by the authorities. It is time for our government officials to take a stand against inciting rhetoric which encourages acts of violence against Arab people." This "lynch mob atmosphere" in the media and government, he said, "has resulted in a nationwide conspiracy to intimidate Arab-Americans and their political views." The former senator from South Dakota called on Reagan, his administration, Congress and the press to take a moderate and prudent position during these times of extreme tension. "This is not a time to react in harmful ways. It is a time for reason and peace," he said.

Abourezk, saying that it is time to call for a reassessment of American policy by the President and Congress, challenged the administration to "confront the situation that results in terrorism in the Middle East." Charging the American government with "glossing over the realities" of the Israeli-Arab conflict, Abourezk warned that "until the US government gets to the political root cause, incidents will continue and intensify. Every time they jail or kill a 'terrorist', three more grow up."

"The United States," he said, "because of its policy, provides the means to bomb and kill Arabs, through its proxy, Israel." There must be a serious problem with US Middle East policy if the Egyptian dockworkers cheered the terrorists, he said. The US must correct the tremendous mistakes it made in the past, he added. Noting the American reaction to the Israeli bombing of PLO headquarters in Tunis, Abourezk challenged the US to condemn all acts of terrorism, whether committed by Arabs, Israelis, or anyone else.

Though no one has claimed responsibility for the bombing, ADC suspects the militant Jewish Defence League. Last August 16, a pipe-bomb was planted at the ADC office in Boston. JDL representatives in Boston initially claimed responsibility for the bomb, but denied knowledge of it when they learned that two policemen were injured while trying to defuse it.

Odeh, a victim of telephone harassment by individuals claiming to be from the JDL, was forced, like many other ADC employees, to get an unlisted telephone number. Commenting

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79 Administrative Detainees Declare Hunger Strike

by Khalil Touma

All 79 Palestinian administrative detainees are on hunger strike this week in protest of their illegal detentions.

Reports from the Bir Saba' prison indicated that the 35 administrative detainees held in this desert lockup joined their other 44 fellow prisoners in Jnaid Prison in Nablus October 14 in declaring an open-ended hunger strike. Jnaid administrative detainees have been on hunger strike for nearly two weeks now. Scores of the Jnaid detainees have already been transferred to clinics for general health deterioration due to the strike. Reports from the various prisons also indicate that all Palestinian political prisoners declared a hunger strike for one day October 16 in solidarity with the administrative detainees.

A report published in *Al Ittihad* Arabic daily on unbearable conditions in Bir Saba' Prison quoted lawyer Osama Odeh who said that on a visit to the prison, prisoners told him all 35 of the administrative detainees are jammed in to one small room. In the room there are only 20 beds, with no space to move around.

Prisoners say they are subject to continuous humiliation by their guards. Their deteriorating health conditions have not been treated and Odeh was told of a number of serious illnesses which have developed. At the start of the hunger strike, the prisoners sent a letter of protest at their detention to Yitzhak Rabin, Israel's minister of defence. In their letter, the prisoners stressed the fact that their detention is of a political nature, and that they have not been detained for security reasons as was alleged by the authorities. They also denounced the trials they were given which they said contradict all international laws. They demanded the authorities release them immediately and stop the administrative detentions.

Bir Saba' prisoners complained that the quality and quantity of food before the strike was very bad. It was intentionally prepared in a bad way, they told the lawyer. They also complained of the lack of papers and books and the narrow space in the courtyard in which the prisoners are allowed to relax for just two hours a day. They are also prevented from buying anything from the prison canteen, they said.

The wave of popular protest to the administrative detentions continues. Felicia Langer, lawyer for 32 of the 79 detainees sent an urgent letter October 15 to the Israeli Defence Minister and to the General Commander of the West Bank demanding the prisoners' immediate release. Copies of the letter were also sent to Amnesty International in London and the UN Human Rights Committee.

A visit was paid to Jnaid Prison by three Knesset members from the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality October 16. The three — Meir Vilner, Tawfiq Zayyad and Charlie Biton — were met by the prisoners. They listened to their demands and inspected prison conditions.

In the occupied territories a matching hunger strike by the families of the administrative

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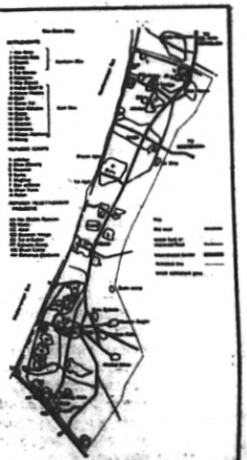
Khalil Touma visits the Bethlehem district village of Obeidiya and files a report on land fraud there. **Page 7.**

Said al-Ghazali suggests a number of Palestinian recipes for grapes. **Page 11.**

Irene Ertugrul, our correspondent in London, sends a special report on the British decision not to meet the Palestinians in the joint delegation. **Page 16.**



Mahar Abukhater concludes our five-part Gaza series with this week's look at settlements in the Strip. **Pages 8&9.**

Beitunia Loses Land in Renewed Confiscation Attempts

by Khalil Touma

A new wave of land confiscations for settling purposes has begun recently. Reports from various regions in the already 50-percent confiscated West Bank indicate that the Israeli authorities are working feverishly to swallow up additional Arab land.

In the town of Beitunia, southwest of Ramallah, 14 landowners received summoning notices last week from the Israeli Department of "Absentees Property" instructing them to come collect compensation payment for their lands. The Israeli army had confiscated the land, the notice said. Owners were also required to present valid documents proving their ownership before they were awarded compensation. The confiscated land is 60 dunums, located only some 300 metres from an Israeli military camp.

The confiscation is seen as a measure to at least enlarge the camp and possibly to construct a new settlement. There are already two other settlements surrounding the village.

Residents vehemently refused the compensation and protested the confiscation. They decided to follow up the case through legal avenues. A lawyer was hired for that purpose.

The land is considered the most fertile in the town. It is continuously planted with vegetables.

This is not the first land confiscation in Beitunia. Nearly 60,000 dunums were confiscated over the past 18 years of the occupation. None of the landowners have accepted compensation for their land. Farmers from al-Khader village west of Bethlehem were also harassed last week, apparently in preparation for seizing their land. Israeli settlers from Efrat settlement, constructed on confiscated al-Khader land, chased the farmers last week off their land near the settlement. The settlers forbade them to cultivate the land. The settlers claim that the land, which Arab farmers have been working for centuries, is an archaeological area.

Farmers filed a protest petition with the military governor in Bethlehem. They expressed fear that the settlers are planning to swallow the rest of the village land. The land is a main source of livelihood for the villagers. It is planted mainly with grapes, which are now in season.

In Dhahriya village, southwest of Hebron, 2000 dunums of arable land were fenced off recently near an Israeli settlement to the east of the village. The land was confiscated last August by the military authorities but the village council, which learned of the confiscation, did not inform the landowners. The landowners only learned about the confiscation a few days before the end of the 21-day appeal period. They immediately hired a lawyer to follow up the case.

The landowners' lawyer filed a request with the authorities *to extend the appeal period to allow them to prepare* the necessary documents. The confiscation is seen by local residents as an attempt to provide the settlers — who are believed to be Ethiopian Jews, or *Falashas* — with land to cultivate.

Last September, however, Dhahriya farmers uprooted the fence around their land and were then attacked by the settlers. A number of Arab women were abducted and held in the settlement until a late hour in the evening. They were released only only after the villagers threatened to attack the settlement and free them. Residents were promised by settlers that the fence would be removed the following day, but to their surprise they discovered that the cordoned-off land was enlarged instead.

Villagers told *Al Fajr* that they are now forbidden to enter the land or to even come near it, thus depriving them of a basic source of livelihood. The land is mainly planted with grain and olive trees. Villagers also say that the closure of the land keeps them from reaching other areas of their land located behind the cordoned-off area.

Residents say that this is the third confiscation in Dhahriya. Two other plots were taken, one in the early 1980s when a settlement was established in the southwest of the village on 50 confiscated dunums. The settlers are now harassing farmers apparently in an attempt to expand on the surrounding 200 dunums still owned by Arab farmers.

Another confiscation took place in 1983 when nearly 36,000 dunums were taken. Farmers, however, say the area was actually much larger. Farmers are still *planting it despite the confiscation order.* Successful land reclamation was carried out by the villagers. Authorities have said the land could be seized at any time. Some of the landowners have succeeded in regaining their land through court cases and with the help of the village Committee in Defence of Land.

Soldier Injured in Fire Bomb Attack

An Israeli soldier was injured in a fire bomb attack October 15 when the bomb was tossed at an Israeli army bus near al-Ama'ri refugee camp near Ramallah. This was the most serious attack against Israeli targets this week.

Israeli troops on the bus opened fire on passersby slightly injuring three people. According to some reports, two of the youths were released from hospital on the same day, while the third remained in hospital for treatment of leg injuries.

At least four Israeli military vehicles loaded with soldiers arrived at the scene shortly after the incident and declared a curfew on the camp. Eyewitnesses said that more than five youths were arrested as troops chased youths through the camp before enforcing the curfew. The soldiers blocked off the two main camp entrances with barbed wire and posted soldiers at each entrance.

An explosive device went off in al-Bireh near Ramallah October 16. The blast killed Bashar Shaban, 14, and seriously injured Anwar Abu Bassam, also 14. The device was apparently planted near an Arab house not far from the Israeli settlement of Psagot on al-Tawil mountain. Israeli forces combed the area but made no arrests. An Israeli military spokesperson alleged that the device was an unexploded Israeli army shell.

In the Gaza Strip the day before, an Israeli from Bir Saba' was attacked with an axe. Lazar Brender was struck on the head near the military headquarters in Khan Yunis. He was transferred to hospital and reported in fair condition. The army conducted a thorough search in the area for the assailant. The Israeli army arrested a number of people for questioning.

Israel TV also reported that unidentified persons set fire to a house in the settlement of Elon Moreh in the Nablus area, October 13. Graffiti in support of the PLO was also found on the wall of the house. Israeli troops arrested a number of Arab residents working in the settlement.

Near the refugee camp of Jabalya in the Gaza Strip, stones were hurled at an Israeli patrol. The windshield of the patrol's car was smashed.

In Nablus, an Israeli bus driving near the Kadri Tukan school in Nablus was stoned October 13. Passengers opened fire on pedestrians. There were no injuries in the attack.

Later on the same day, a military vehicle was stoned in the same area. Israeli soldiers chased the attackers and, according to army reports, arrested three youths.

Also stoned were the compartments of a train on its way from Jerusalem to Tel Aviv near the village of Battir to the west of Bethlehem. Israel Radio, which reported the event on October 13, said that a window was smashed and that the army was investigating the incident.

Peace Now protestors (above) call for peace negotiations with Hussein, while opposing Gush Emunim demonstrators (below) support maintaining *Eretz Israel*. Both groups demonstrated outside the Prime Minister's office in Jerusalem Monday, October 14.

Peace Now, Gush Emunim Send Crossed Signals

A large police force was mobilised October 14 to form a barrier between opposing Peace Now and Gush Emunim demonstrators each appealing to Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres.

The 200-man force in addition to several border police personnel kept the two groups at least 200 metres apart while they shouted and called for Peres to "take their word only" to Europe and the United States. Peres left October 15 to attend the annual meeting of the Socialist International in Vienna and to meet with US officials in Washington.

The larger of the two groups — over 3000 Peace Now supporters — called on Peres to accept Jordan's King Hussein's peace proposals as a base for future negotiations which would break the current deadlock. Supporters of Gush Emunim, comprising nearly 2000 and led by right-wing Israeli politicians and religious figures, demanded that Peres reject the notion of 'land for peace' and never "relinquish the land of *Eretz Israel*".

Both groups broadcast their message over loudspeakers. For persons standing near Peres's office much of the message was garbled and confused. Peres later held a five-minute meeting with representatives of both groups assuring them that he would take the "right message" abroad.

Prior to his departure for Vienna, Peres told well-wishers that he intended to argue for King Hussein's disassociation from the Palestinians. Peres said he would advocate that Hussein sign a separate peace treaty with Israel.

The demonstrators from both sides seemed to be "in a world by themselves" according to one observer. "They were two Zionist groups who argue that they are more righteous than the other, but neither is willing to admit the existence or the right to exist of the Palestinian people," he told *Al Fajr*.

Although there were no signs of the groups' intentions to disrupt either's activities, the police nevertheless kept on their guard. They were especially concerned with protecting Peace Now activists who in recent history have been the victims of stone throwing spates by supporters of Gush Emunim. The demonstrations took place only a few hundred metres away from the spot where in 1983 a Peace Now activist was killed in a grenade attack by Jewish extremists while participating in a similar protest.

While popular writers and artists were on hand to speak to the Peace Now crowd, right-wing politicians and religious settler personalities were present in the Gush Emunim camp. Among the latter were Rabbi Moshe Levinger of Kiryat Arba settlement near Hebron, Minister-Without-Portfolio Yosef Shapiro and Morasha MK Haim Druckman. Daniella Wiess who heads the Gush Emunim settlement movement called upon Peres never to compromise over the "Land of Israel." She said that "There can be no people of Israel without the land of Israel."

Wiess and the Gush Emunim later joined the Peace Now demonstrators in singing the Israeli national anthem before both groups dispersed.

Mohammad Abd al-Halim (left) brother of missing journalist Hassan Abd al-Halim, sits next to AJA head Radwan Abu Ayash and other AJA representatives at Jerusalem press conference.

Journalists Association Denounces Attempt to Silence Press

In the wake of recent Israeli repressive measures against the Palestinian press in the occupied territories, a press conference was held at the National Palace Hotel in Jerusalem October 14. The conference was sponsored by the Arab Journalists Association.

The press conference, which was attended by a number of local, Israeli and foreign journalists, shed light on the continuous attempt by Israeli authorities to silence the Palestinian press. Radwan Abu Ayash, the AJA head, condemned Israeli measures saying they contradict all international laws and norms.

Five Palestinian journalists are currently being held in administrative detention and three others are under town arrest, he said. Abu Ayash also condemned the closure of *Al Manar* press office last month and the recent closure of *Al Darb* newspaper. Military censorship of the Arab press was also condemned. Abu Ayash also demanded the authorities conduct a serious search for journalist Hassan Abd al-Halim, of *Al Fajr* Arabic daily who has been missing since the beginning of this month. "This matter is of great concern and is causing much worry to every one," he said.

Dr. Hanna Hallaq, Editor-in-Chief of the closed Arabic weekly *Al Darb*, also addressed the press conference and categorically denied once again the allegations of the West Jerusalem commissioner. The commissioner reportedly closed the paper because he said it was financed by the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine. Hallaq stressed that all material published in the paper had been subject to the censor. "The paper abided always by the orders of the censor," he said. The closure and other measures against the Palestinian press, Hallaq said, were intended to please Israeli settlers.

The Israeli High Court heard October 15 the newpaper's appeal against the closure. Lawyer Elias Khouri, who represents *Al Darb*, demanded that he be allowed to examine the "secret evidence" presented against the newspaper. He also demanded that this evidence be examined by another judge. The court decided to turn the evidence over to another judge who would rule on the case within 10 days.

Another speaker at the conference was Mohammed Abd al-Halim, brother of missing journalist Hassan Abd al-Halim. He spoke to the press about the disappearance of his brother. Abd al-Halim said that his brother left home on assignment at 7:00 pm October 3, but never returned. He indicated that lawyer Jonathan Kuttab inquired at the prisons and asked the police about his brother but he was not found.

The family is trying now to obtain an official statement from the authorities in writing to the effect that Hassan is not being held or was not arrested. Abd al-Halim also stated that Hassan had no personal enemies and that his passport is still at home which means he did not travel abroad.

Many fear that Hassan may have been kidnapped. Abd al-Halim requested the authorities exert all necessary pressure to find his brother. Hassan Abd al-Halim is from the village of Kattaneh in the Ramallah district. He is the only breadwinner for his seven children.

Would the Hijackers Have Received Justice in PLO Hands ?

Would justice have been done had the PLO been given the chance to try the Palestinian hijackers of the *Achille Lauro*?

Local Palestinian lawyers considered the issue this week, and told *Al Fajr* that the PLO would have been just in their trial of the hijackers despite the PLO not being a sovereign state. They based their observations on past PLO action.

International law doesn't specify a policy regarding the actions of members of a liberation movement, but, according to Jerusalem lawyer Jonathan Kuttab, international law "obliges liberation movements to make sure that the actions of their members are restrained and within the context of the laws of war." Kuttab, who specialised in international law at the University of Virginia, says the leaders of a liberation movement have to punish any member of their organisation who carries out actions in violation of international law or who is guilty of a criminal act. "In areas of conflict, the rules of war apply. These rules limit the scope of action to the parties to the conflict and specifies the protection of civilians," he said.

Gaza advocate Zuheir al-Rayyes, who was one of the founders of the PLO and helped to draft the PLO charter, says that the PLO has had a revolutionary court for 20 years." Palestinians have been tried and punished for actions ranging from stealing to murder to treason," he said.

According to Rayyes, revolutionary PLO courts have discussed, imprisoned and even carried out capital punishments against those found guilty.

In Defence of Milhem

News Analysis
by Daoud Kuttab

The British decision cancelling a meeting between the PLO delegation and Sir Geoffrey Howe will undoubtedly hurt the current peace process and open previously closed wounds between the PLO and Jordan.

According to the October 14 statement by the British Foreign Ministry, the meeting with the Palestinians was cancelled because they refused to sign a political statement to be announced after the meeting. The statement Palestinians refused to sign calls for the rejection of terror and violence and "recognises the right of Israel to secure borders along with the Palestinians' right for self-determination."

In response to the Palestinian refusal, the British Foreign Secretary agreed to meet only the Jordanian half of the joint delegation. Press reports from Britain indicate that there was also disagreement between the Palestinian delegates. Mayor Milhem reportedly refused to sign the document while Bishop Khoury agreed. Jordan issued a statement in support of the British action claiming the PLO had reneged on an understanding agreed upon in September when Margaret Thatcher visited Jordan.

What went wrong? The maze of differences between the two Palestinians, between the Palestinians and the Jordanians, and between the Palestinians and the British has certainly hurt the PLO's credibility. But despite apparent PLO disorganisation, a number of key questions remain to be answered. First, why was there a difference between Thatcher's public statements in Aqaba September 20 and the statement Khoury and Milhem were asked to sign? In Aqaba, Thatcher never mentioned the state of Israel or the question of its security.

British diplomats might argue that recognising "Israel's right to secure borders" is included in a number of UN Security Resolutions, most importantly 242 and 338. According to England, when Thatcher announced in Aqaba that Khoury and Milhem would have to agree to "support a peaceful settlement on the basis of the relevant United Nations resolutions," that meant recognising Israel's right to secure borders. Wrong.

When Palestinians agree to all UN resolutions this includes the partition, the internationalisation of Jerusalem, the right of refugees to return or to receive compensation, the representative status of the PLO, the illegality of settlements and the feasibility of an international conference. Within this context, Palestinian agreement for Israel's right to secure borders would certainly have been forthcoming. But simply recognising Israel without the rest of the UN resolutions would be akin to committing suicide. If the PLO wanted to do that, it would have done so in return for US recognition of the PLO and not simply for a short meeting with Howe.

The importance of obtaining US recognition was the initial reason why the PLO and Jordan had approached Britain. The meeting with Howe was expected to be a stepping stone to further meetings with Murphy and finally US recognition of the PLO. But with the events of the past month and the bias the United States has shown for Israel and against the Arabs, the PLO has been forced to reconsider its position. Reagan's support for the Israeli raid on the PLO in Tunis and later the forced interception of the Egyptian plane showed Palestinians clearly where the US stood.

These events left Milhem and Khoury with a difficult choice: to recognise Israel's right for safe borders in return solely for the privilege of meeting Sir Geoffrey Howe, or refuse to make that compromise. In their capacity, neither Milhem nor Khoury could have made such a decision. After all, what borders of Israel would they be recognising — Israel's pre-'67 border, Israel's annexed territories (Jerusalem and the Golan), or a border including Israel's Jordan Valley settlements which Israelis consider vital to their security?

Under the circumstances, the Palestinian delegates' choice not to accept the humiliating British conditions was correct. For this matter, the British conditions would have been unacceptable for the Jordanian delegation to make alone. Until today, no Jordanian official has ever met this condition. They know what such acceptance means. If the Jordanians are unwilling to do so, how can Britain expect it from the PLO?

The cancellation of the meeting will also deeply affect the Jordanian-Palestinian agreement of February 11, and relations between the two peoples. King Hussein's support for the British position and the Jordanian media's silence on the US move against the Egyptian plane show that the Jordanians are up to something. While it is too early to judge whether Jordan will try to enter negotiations with Israel alone, it is clear that they will try to obtain more concessions from the PLO. Hussein is tired of treating the PLO as an equal partner and would like to lead the negotiations.

Hussein wants to go to future negotiations on his own with the PLO as a mere addition to his baggage. This is unacceptable to Palestinians or the PLO. For its part, the PLO will seek to strengthen ties with Iraq and Egypt so that they can put pressure on Jordan. At the same time, Arafat will move towards the dissenting Palestinian factions and Syria. Arafat will have to settle for which ever side gives him the best deal and the strongest support.

IN KNESSET VOTE

MK Mi'ari Loses Parliamentary Immunity

The Israeli Knesset voted last week to strip one of its nine Arab members of most of his parliamentary immunity because of his public stance on the Palestinian issue.

By a vote of 39 to 22 the Knesset approved a special committee's request to strip Mohammed Mi'ari of the Progresive List for Peace (PLP) of his parliamentary immunity except from criminal or civil prosecution. He will no longer have access to places closed to the general public, immunity against arrest and immunity against search. On several occasions in the past Mi'ari has been targeted by Israeli right-wing politicians because of his outspoken support for the PLO. Mi'ari sees the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. In June of this year a special Alignment Likud committee formed especially to find ground for his prosecution voted overwhelmingly to suggest to the Knesset that his immunity be lifted. The committee used reports of a speech he delivered in a gathering held in memory of the late Hebron Mayor Fahd Qawasmeh in Jerusalem February 2 to argue that Mi'ari advocated the destruction of Israel.

Mi'ari, who denied such charges, said later that his support for the PLO's representation of the Palestinian people does not necessarily equal a call for the destruction of Israel.

During the ensuing debate over Mi'ari's Knesset privileges, a Likud Knesset member said, "This request comes in the wake of MK Mi'ari's involvement in a series of events that strike seriously at state security, which reached its height at an assembly of solidarity with Qawasmeh and Arafat at al-Ibrahimiya College in Jerusalem on February 2, 1985." According to press reports of the meeting at al-Ibrahimiya, Mi'ari called on Israel to recognise the PLO as a full partner in any future peace negotiations. He also condemned Israeli treatment of Palestinians in the occupied territories.

MK Mohammed Mi'ari.

Prior to its voting last June the special committee told Mi'ari that if he "denounced PLO terrorism" they might vote in his favour. Mi'ari, however, told them that he emphatically denounces terrorism including Israeli state terrorism against the Palestinians. This apparently infuriated committee members who then voted 14 to 6 to recommend limiting his parliamentary immunity.

Mi'ari, a practicing lawyer in Haifa, first entered the Israeli political arena in the last general election in July of last year. His movement, the PLP, advocates the enactment of a democratic constitution in which Arabs and Jews are treated equally. The PLP was outlawed at first because its stance "contradicted the Jewish nature of the state" but was later allowed after a High Court ruling in its favour.

In a conversation with *Al Fajr* following the Knesset vote, Mi'ari said that limiting his immunity was solely a political decision meant to restrict his political lobbying and other activities. "It was not a personal attack on myself, but rather on the PLP and what it represents," he said.

Mi'ari said the committee had little ground for its decision. He said that he represented the views of a good percentage of Palestinians from inside the 'green line' and an attack on him or his movement meant an attack on these people. The PLP won 18 percent of the Arab vote in 1984.

Two months ago, the Israeli Knesset passed a bill which forbade Israeli citizens from contacting PLO representatives. Dubbed the "anti-terror" bill, it was directed at the nine Arab members. Mi'ari vehemently opposed the bill. In fact, at the time of the Knesset vote on the bill, he and other PLP members were meeting in Geneva with PLO representative Shafiq al-Hout.

Galilee Local Councils Declare Strike

Perplexed by a budget deficit of over US 8 million dollars, Arab local councils inside the 'green line' staged several protest activities over the last week. The councils claim Israeli officials are purposely ignoring their demands for more funds.

Several dozen Um al-Fahm residents held a demonstration in front of Shimon Peres's office October 15 as members of the Regional Committee of Arab Local Council Heads met with Israeli Interior Ministry officials. The meeting was intended to resolve the problem of large deficits and unpaid bills facing the local councils.

Um al-Fahm, said to be the hardest hit, has been unable to pay municipal employees and local school teachers for the last five months. Its officials claim that their budget deficit has soared to IS1.5 billion. They have declared an open strike of council employees and school teachers in Um al-Fahm. Other councils held one day strikes and threaten to follow Um al-Fahm's lead of an open strike until their demands are met.

What bothers the chairmen of local councils the most is that the Israeli government's earlier promises to allocate emergency funds to their communities have not been met. Shimon Peres had in a meeting with the Regional Committee members last July promised to release over IS3.5 billion to assist the councils in their current development projects and to pay their employees. The promise however remains just that — a promise.

Most Arab local councils struck on August 1 for 24 hours to publicise their demands. "They simply do not care to solve our problem. Their policies are those of discrimination since they obviously want us to feel discriminated against so as to assure us that we are not full partners in this country," said an Um al-Fahm employee. He pointed out that Jewish local councils receive three times the cash allocations that Arab councils receive.

In a speech at the demonstration October 15, Um al-Fahm Mayor Hashem Mahamid vowed to "continue utilising all channels available" to voice protest over Israeli "discriminatory policies" towards Israeli Arabs inside the 'green line.' "All we keep getting is promises, but we see no action," he said.

5 Palestinians Get Double Life Sentence in Haifa Murder

"There is no justice in the state of Israel."

Twenty-year-old Fathi Ghanayem appeared distraught as the court finished sentencing him and four other Palestinians to two life sentences plus an additional seven years each. Ghanayem and the four were convicted in a Haifa District Court October 14 of kidnapping and killing a 15-year-old Haifa boy, Danny Katz, in 1983.

Ghanayem and the four — Ahmad Kibby, 29; Atef Subhi, 27; Ali Ghanayem, 21; and Samir Ghanayem, 28 — had maintained their innocence throughout the trial. Their defence laywer Mustafa Lidawi told reporters after the trial that his clients had not been given a fair trial and that he intended to appeal their sentences to the Israeli High Court.

The five, all residents of the Galilee, argued throughout the trial that they were charged with the murder on the basis of confessions extracted from them under pressure and, in some cases, torture. Mustafa Lidawi argued that Israeli police had deceived the youth into not asking for defence immediately after being arrested. This, said Lidawi, made it easy for interrogators to "extract" confessions from them. The police had, he said, informed the defendants' families that they need not appoint defence lawyers because it would make their sons appear to have really committed the crime. The families had apparently trusted the police and it was only when the men were formally charged several weeks later that they appointed defence lawyers.

The prosecution had demanded a life sentence for each of the men. The three judges, however, sentenced the five to two life sentences of 20 years each plus an additional seven years for kidnapping, conspiring to kill and murder.

In an interview with the Haifa-based *al-Ittihad* Arabic daily, Lidawi said that the judges showed a clear bias towards the prosecution claims and had "rejected our claims." Upon hearing their sentences the men shouted that God would avenge them if they are harmed.

Likud Knesset member Meir Cohen Avidov, who was present in the court during the reading of the sentences, took advantage of the moment to lobby for the imposition of the death penalty for "terrorists". He said that the men should have been sentenced an extra "conditional death sentence" which, according to him, would have meant "they would be executed immediately if there was a murder of another Jew by terrorists."

3 Deportees Arrive Safely in Amman

Three Palestinians deported to Jordan two weeks ago asserted that they would have been willing to spend five years in jail instead of being deported.

The three were speaking in a press conference held at the PLO's information office in Amman October 9.

Since their deportation October 2, the deportees' whereabouts were not known. Jordanian authorities had not reported their arrival, as they had when 18 ex-prisoners were deported one month earlier. Local residents had been afraid that harm might have befallen the deportees. . . . . .

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The three Palestinian men were deported to Jordan following a long legal battle in which the Israeli High Court turned down their appeals against the deportation. The Israeli authorities arrested the three men on August 29 on orders from the Israeli Commander of the Central Region (the West Bank) Amnon Shahak in preparation for their deportation.

STIFF SENTENCES METED OUT IN LYDDA COURT

Three particularly stiff sentences were handed down last week against residents of the occupied territories.

An Israeli military court sentenced Osama Hashimi and Jamal Abu Diab, both from Jerusalem, to 20 years in prison and Saker Abu Mandela, a Gazan resident of Jerusalem, to 15 years. All were arrested last March and charged for membership in a Palestinian organisation. They were also charged with 'security' offences including training in arms, organising others, possession of detonators, and making and setting explosive devices.

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AL FAJR

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PLO's 'Black Week': Time to Think Again

No two Palestinians would disagree that this has been one of the blackest weeks in the Palestinian national struggle. Despite PLO statements to the contrary, the PLO has been blamed for the recent hijacking of the Italian cruise ship. The British foreign minister has refused to meet the Palestinian half of the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. The United Nations has dropped a proposal to invite Chairman Arafat to address the body of nations on its 40th anniversary. And, as if to add icing to the cake, some Arab countries who have closely supported the PLO have either remained silent in the barrage against the liberation movement or have actually participated in pointing the finger of blame at the PLO.

Behind all this fury is a ferocious attempt at delegitimising the PLO as a credible and representative partner to any future negotiations. This has been Israel's persistent goal during the past few months, particularly after the signing of the Jordanian-Palestinian accord. Israel was uncomfortable with the PLO's latest peace initiative. It was uncomfortable dealing with the PLO on any other basis than as 'terrorists'.

Instead of encouraging the peaceful Palestinian potential the Israelis aimed at destroying it. Ignoring all other claims, Israel pinned every act of violence on the PLO and more specifically Arafat. With the Larnaca incident, Israel had its excuse to bomb both the PLO and the peace process, thus killing two birds with one stone.

Unfortunately, the Western world has chosen to fall for the Israeli bait and has joined in chorus in trying to discredit the PLO.

Britain and the United States only recently came to agree on a *rapprochement* with the PLO following Arab pressure and considering their mutual aim of stability in the region. However, the US and Europe have continually demanded one concession after the other from the PLO without even asking Israel for one concession. Such demands reached a scandalous point when British officials naively believed they could force Milhem and Khoury to recognise Israel's borders.

The PLO and the Palestinians have had enough. The events of the last few weeks will undoubtedly force the PLO to rethink its strategy, and to once and for all determine who its friends and enemies are.

We in occupied territories express our support for the PLO. Instead of seeking foreign recognition the support of the Palestinian people should continue to be the main source of credibility for the PLO. In this context we would like to whisper into the liberation movement's ear that staying close to the people's desires and aspirations, and seeking to unify the Palestinian people should always be top priority. This basic fact should be like the guiding star for the PLO, even during its darkest hour.

Looking Past the **Achille Lauro** to its Violent Roots

by Daoud Kuttab

Politicians, diplomats and security experts will be debating for some time ways to prevent actions like the hijacking of the Italian cruise ship. In their discussions, the experts will attempt to define the motives and reasons which drive people to such desperate acts.

In the Middle East operations like the cruise liner hijacking must be seen within the general context of the larger Palestinian problem which after 37 years remains unresolved. More specifically however the ship's abduction can be seen as the direct result of a similar tragic operation which occurred recently, namely the Israeli raid on PLO headquarters in Tunis.

Palestinian frustration today stems from the absence of a just solution to the problem and the failure of world media to focus attention to the Palestinian plight except when the safety of Europeans or Americans is threatened.

The hijacking of the Italian ship must be condemned regardless of the major media exposure it gives to the Palestinian problem. Nevertheless it is important that Americans and other people in the West realise that the policies of their governments have a direct effect not only on world security and world peace but on their own safety as well. American praise of Israel's illegal military action is just one example.

It is easy to dismiss violence today as a plague infesting our 20th century world. But it is much more difficult to examine and search deep into the root causes of the violence. Only therein lies an answer.

In the past three years after Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon and the PLO's departure from Beirut, a number of bold new directions have been taken. Faced with the reality of blind US support for Israel and the general apathy of Arab leaders, Palestinians began searching for new ways to wage their struggle. PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat courageously attempted to reconcile the Arab world with Egypt. Arafat also sought closer and better ties with Jordan.

Arafat's efforts, despite substantial internal criticism, culminated in a crucial agreement between the PLO and Jordan signed February 11, 1985. Despite the clearly peaceful overtones of the agreement Israeli politicians and public officials singled out Arafat for a fierce attack. Both state-run and independent media carried statements in the spring and summer accusing Arafat of personal responsibility for every attack against an Israeli target.

The purpose of this concerted campaign has now become clear. Israeli leaders were preparing their constituency for the air attack on the PLO headquarters. Contrary to Israel's public position, the attack was aimed at destroying the chances for any lasting peace. At one point over the summer Israeli leaders breathed easily when their efforts to derail the mission of US Assistant Secretary of State Richard W. Murphy succeeded. But the late summer announcement by British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher that Britain would receive a PLO-Jordanian delegation again raised Israeli fears that the Arab peace initiative had not yet been quenched.

Jordan's King Hussein also gave a speech to the UN General Assembly in September which greatly increased pressure on Israel. Hussein's speech, which was basically outlined beforehand by US State Department diplomats, mentioned Jordan's desire to carry out direct negotiations with the government of Israel under the "proper tenets."

Such an unprecedented statement required a reply from Israel. By accepting to enter into negotiations Israel would be forced to make territorial concessions. Considering the make-up of the present Israeli government and the general mood in Israel this would have proven impossible. Some experts have even predicted a civil war in Israel if the West Bank and Gaza are given up. Thus with the tables turned and the Arabs no longer saying 'No', Israel was forced to respond.

Had it not been for Israeli dependence on unlimited US financial support such a response would have been easy. However a plan sure not to incur American wrath would have to be drawn up. The plan was to wait for an incident, no matter how minor or unrelated, involving some Palestinian to which Israel could forcefully respond thus inciting the Palestinians into giving up their peaceful efforts. With the PLO back to mililtary operations, Israel would be on much more comfortable ground. The Palestinian actions would be billed the world over as 'terrorism' and the US would stop demanding a response from Israel to Arab peace initiatives.

With the killing in Cyprus of three Israelis — now said to be high-ranking Mossad agents — Israel had its excuse. Although the PLO denied any responsibility for the killings, Israel bombed PLO headquarters, claiming that Arafat was personally responsible for the operation. Despite the official government version, the military correspondent of a major Israeli paper was unconvinced that those behind the Larnaca killings were either PLO or members of Arafat's organisation. Hirsh Goodman, correspondent for the *Jerusalem Post*, said that Arafat, who maintains an office in Cyprus and is on good terms with the Cypriot government, would have been foolish to carry out such an action in Cyprus. Goodman also felt that such an action by Arafat would have been counterproductive to his own carefully planned peace moves.

Goodman's statements notwithstanding, Israel carried out its acrobatic air strike. Unfortunately it did so without proper calculations as to the actions that would follow. For Palestinians, the bombing of their fellow countrymen seeking refuge in a peaceful Arab country was outrageous and deserving of an appropriate response. The bombing indeed triggered outbursts of long restrained anger and indignation at arrogant Israel and its US ally.

Palestinians who had not approved Arafat's peaceful intiative now felt free to do as they pleased. They could now scoff at Arafat for having tried diplomacy — or begging for peace — while the US merely turned him away empty-handed and the Israelis continued to attempt to liquidate him.

Such frustration caused by Israel's continued military aggression and world inaction is the true cause of the ship hijacking. Such frustration cannot be ignored or pushed aside. As Israelis and Palestinians continue to suffer the direct blows resulting from political failures, the need for addressing the root problem becomes more pressing. As both Palestinians and Israelis brace themselves for another bloody round of violence and counterviolence, we must nevertheless not lose hope. All of us, including Americans and Europeans, are responsible. If one is not part of the solution he must be part of the problem. We cannot shirk such a responsibility. ■

Daoud Kuttab is the managing editor of Al Fajr Weekly.

AL FAJR invites our readers to contribute letters, articles and opinions. Contributions must be signed, but names may be withheld upon request.

The Rules of Peacemaking: Mutual Concessions

by Mohammad Hallaj

The recurrence of war in human relations makes it easy to forget the fact that humanity also has an impressive track record in peacekeeping and peacemaking. Someone once called our attention to the fact that for every war that happened there were many wars that were averted and did not happen. Even wars which do not happen are normally concluded with a peace process.

This accumulated experience in peacekeeping has yielded certain ground rules which we cannot afford to ignore. Among them is that peace among nations happens when their interests require it. This means that peace becomes possible among other things, when the various parties to a conflict satisfy minimal conditions which they perceive to be essential to their life, liberty or the pursuit of happiness.

The Arab-Israeli conflict in general and the Palestinian-Israeli conflict in particular have defied all attempts made so far to resolve them because such attempts have violated the tried and tested ground rules of peacemaking. This has been particularly true in the way the Palestinian question has been handled.

The most constant feature of "the peace effort"-has been the attempt to satisfy the interest of all the parties at the expense of one, namely: the Palestinians. All "peace initiatives" have recognized the needs and wishes of all parties, their constraints and the limits on their ability to compromise, except in the case of the Palestinians. All "peace initiatives" have been based on the assumption that all parties have "red lines" beyond which they cannot retreat, except the Palestinians. All peace efforts seem to be based on the preposterous and obviously false assumption that, among all the parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Palestinians have an unlimited capacity to "facilitate" the peace process by abandoning one after another of their national rights.

This process has reached a stage where the Palestinians are in effect being asked "to spare the Middle East the inconvenience of their national existence." Peace is never achieved in this manner. *The Palestinians cannot and must not be expected to consent to being burnt as a peace offering.* To continue to blame them for insisting on minimal rights to ensure their survival as one of the peoples of the Middle East is the same as blaming the victim for troublemaking because he resists his assailant.

Yasser Arafat addresses a UN conference in Geneva./UN file photo.

It has been said that the problem boils down to the fact that either there is one state too few or one people too many in the Middle East. Are we to allow the establishment of the missing state or to eliminate the "surplus" people? As we explore options, we need to ponder the awesome implications of this question.

Asking the parties to a conflict to be more "forthcoming" for the sake of peace makes sense up to a point and on the basis of reciprocity. For the Palestinians, being forthcoming has gone beyond the point of diminishing returns. And *when compromise passes the point of diminishing returns, the peace process mutates into a prescription for more conflict.* The peacemakers betray their trust the instant they ignore this fact.

Mohammed Hallaj works with the Washington-based Palestine Research and Education Centre.

Shaky Israeli Case Against Arafat

by Patrick Seale/*The Observer*

Were the killers of the three Israelis at Larnaca on September 25 Yasser Arafat's men?

Israel's Prime Minister Shimon Peres is certain. "There is absolutely no doubt," he said on Israeli television October 2, "that these people belonged to Force 17 (the PLO chairman's bodyguard) and that it was done under the command of the Force's commander, with Arafat's knowledge."

Israel has made this charge the centrepiece of an international campaign to justify its air strike against the headquarters of Arafat and Force 17 outside Tunis.

Peres claims that men now in Israeli custody identified the Larnaca killers — the Briton Ian Davison and his two Arab associates — as members of Force 17.

Israel is holding the deputy commander of Force 17, Faisal Abu Shar, captured with other Palestinians when Israeli gunboats intercepted two small vessels making for Sidon from Cyprus in late August.

As the Larnaca killers demanded the release of these men in exchange for the lives of two Israelis they were holding hostage, this would also tend to link them to Force 17.

But does the Israeli evidence stand up?

There is first of all a puzzle about the nature of Force 17 itself. It was set up in the early 1970s by a close associate of Arafat, Ali Hassan Salameh, who in 1978 was killed by a Beirut car bomb believed to have been planted by Israeli agents.

Salameh was succeeded by Abu al-Houl (the Sphinx). He in turn was succeeded by Abu Tayib who, some reports say, was killed in the October 1 air strike.

From the beginning, Force 17 was a security apparatus charged with the specific task of protecting Arafat and leading members of his Fatah organisation. In this task it sometimes acts offensively, but, so far as can be determined, it has never attacked Israeli targets, a job left to other Fatah forces.

Its targets have always been Arafat's Arab enemies, Fatah rebels and their Syrian and Libyan backers.

Israel claims the Force 17 members it seized on the high seas in August were terrorists planning to attack Israel from Sidon. Arab sources say their mission was in Sidon itself where several leading pro-Arafat Palestinians have recently been murdered.

A second complicating feature is that neutral Cyprus has for several years been a sort of offshore annex of the conflict, with Israeli and Arab secret agents sniffing around each other much as British and German agents did in Lisbon in the Second World War.

Both sides have an interest in keeping the place in business, but every so often their surveillance of each other explodes into violence.

The PLO man in London, Faisal Aouidha, says bluntly that the three murdered Israelis were known Mossad agents and that they were suspected of having provided Israel with information which led to the capture of the Palestinian boats in August.

Were the Larnaca murders, then, just another violent episode in the ceaseless war between hostile secret services?

No, says Aouidha, "Cyprus is a friendly island. Our men had orders not to attack. Our view is that the killers did it on their own account. It may have been a personal vendetta to avenge the men kidnapped by Israel.

"In any event, we do not know who the kilers are. But I can say that there is no way in which an Englishman like Davison could have been a member of Chairman Arafat's personal bodyguard."

But there are further complications still.

Since 1982-1983 Arafat has faced a mutiny inside his own Fatah organisation. The charge against him made by the rebels is that his 'peace strategy' is a sell-out and that only continued armed struggle against Israel has a chance of getting results.

This dissension has racked everyone of Fatah's various bodies so that a parallel organisation has emerged dedicated to Arafat's undoing.

For example, Arafat's own Fatah is now mirrored by a 'Fatah Revolutionary Council' headed by his deadly opponent, Abu Nidal. His Cyprus-based newspaper *Filastin al-Thawra* is matched by a rival of the same name printed in Damascus. Even his Palestinian news agency, WAFA, is dogged by another WAFA, also Damacus-based.

Arab sources and Western Palestine-watchers report that Force 17 has recently been shaken by internal upheavals and changes in command, suggesting that, like so many other Fatah bodies, it too has been penetrated by Arafat's opponents.

These sources believe the Larnaca murders were plotted by a rebel splinter group impatient with Arafat's passivity, determined to stampede him into greater militancy, and dedicated to discredit him and his peace policy.

Arafat is struggling to be accepted by Israel and the United States as an interlocutor in peace talks. He agreed a joint peace strategy with King Hussein on 11 February, pinning great hopes on Hussein's being able to persuade the US to talk to a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation as a preliminary to a much sought after American-PLO dialogue.

It is inconceivable, Western and Arab diplomats say, that Arafat would launch a brutal and spectacular attack on Israelis at the very moment that Hussein in Washington was making a last despairing appeal to President Reagan.

Israel, in contrast, has a strong interest in labelling Arafat as a terrorist. It has repeatedly pinned on him statements made by Fatah rebels. Who, after all, can tell which WAFA from which? It wants to destroy the Hussein-Arafat alliance and permanently exclude the PLO from the peace process.

Israel's strategic objective is peace with Jordan to match its peace with Egypt. If it is successful Palestinian and Syrian militancy will be neutralised, and long-term Israeli control of the West Bank assured, either directly or in a sort of condominium with Jordan.

It is this strategy which, many observers believe, explains the devastation in Tunisia, rather than the Larnaca killings to which it is allegedly linked.

Reprinted from The Observer, October 6.

Incurs the Authorities' Wrath

Obeidiya Wages Struggle Against Israeli Settlement

by Khalil Touma

The problem facing the old Palestinian village of Obeidiya can be summed up in one word — occupation. The solution is equally simple — no real development can be achieved in Palestine, nor a hopeful future realised for the Palestinians unless Israeli occupation is ended. Obeidiya and its 8000 inhabitants are but living proof.

Obeidiya lies some 10 kilometres east of Bethlehem and almost an equal distance to the south of Jerusalem, yet it lacks almost all the basic necessities of a 20th century town. The village looks rather like a horse that has stumbled and fallen in the hills before reaching the Dead Sea some 20 kilometres eastward. The poor horse is now prey for various vultures, the most vicious of whom are the occupation and the self-serving *simsars* or land-dealers.

Two years ago on November 10, 1983, a small advertisement appeared in the former Israeli government-sponsored Arabic daily *Al-Anba*. The advertisement stated that seven persons, all of them *simsars*, had claimed ownership of 6000 dunums at the south-east end of Obeidiya. A period of 15 days was declared in which counterclaims could be filed.

According to Jordanian law in the West Bank, such advertisements are essential before official transfers of the land ownership can proceed. Mysteriously all copies of the paper — which was rarely circulated in the occupied territories — disappeared the same morning. The advertisement, however, was discovered by the actual landowners who immediately filed suit. Their case was handed over to a number of lawyers who filed an objection in the name of the 107 owners at the Land Registrar Committee. The case is still pending. The villagers are optimistic that they will win their case pointing out that all evidence to their legal ownership is clear. During the hearings into the case, a wide-ranging scandal involving Israeli and Arab land brokery was revealed. Apparently brokers had forged official documents and the signatures of the landowners on bills of sale. They had even gone as far as selling the land to Israeli companies who in turn sold it to unsuspecting Israelis. They were told a settlement by the name of Ramat Kidron would be built there.

False maps and witnesses were apparently introduced in court by the brokers. It became evident that the village *mukhtar* who signed the forged documents did not even know where the land was located. It was also revealed that the Israeli government guardian of 'state land' had offered help to the brokers and had supplied them with falsified land maps and documents showing 'private' land as 'state' land.

The landowners also filed an appeal at the Department of Dangerous Crimes in the Petah Tikva Police Station urging the police to immediately investigate the forgery. The landowners were able to obtain permission from the Registrar Committee to continue cultivating their land in the meantime. Five months ago, however, nearly 40 soldiers entered the land and uprooted the trees. No reason was given yet residents believe the military authorities were again helping the *simsars* in their bid for the land.

Indeed the military authorities have long been linking the development of services in the village to residents' approval of the establishment of the settlement on village land. All attempts at pressuring the residents by the authorities has so far been to no avail. Residents refuse to give up their land and insist on regaining it through legal means. Hence most of the services and developmental projects begun in Obeidiya have suffered. The water supply is one clear example. The lone reply of military officials to Obeidiya's requests over the past four years to extend water pipes to the village from the Bethlehem Water Department was very clear: you will be permitted to extend the pipes only if you agree to the establishment of the settlement. "This is a very serious problem for us," said a young Obeidiya worker. "Eight thousand residents and more than 10,000 head of livestock are all dependent on rain water. Imagine what happened to us in the dry years," he said. Residents have tried to solve the problems by buying expensive water tanks, the cubic metre of which costs JD5 (US 12.5 dollars). It is estimated that at least 25 metres are bought by each family every year. "The village pays every year more than the expenses of extending the water pipes to the village," he said.

Housing is yet another burning problem. Authorities have been refusing to issue building permits for the last few years. This is also seen by the residents as another way to pressure them into accepting an Israeli settlement. In many cases strange conditions were imposed on those seeking permits. They were required to maintain a distance of 150 metres from the street and to pay for surveying the land no matter how many dunums were involved. Surveying is very costly with the price of surveying one dunum nearly JD80 (US 200 dollars). Another problem with surveying is that most of the Obeidiya families live together on collective pieces of land. Therefore, if one wants to build a house of 500 square metres on part of the plot he must survey the entire lot. Residents argue that even if one fulfils all the conditions the licence is not issued. Other excuses are given, they say. One lawyer from Obeidiya lives with his wife and 13 others in his family. Three years ago he applied for a building permit but never received it. He was told the location was classified as a 'green area' where no building is permitted.Still he goes back frequently to check on his permit. Many of those under the pressure of growing families have built without permission and have been brought to court and heavily fined.

Opening new roads is also strictly forbidden in the village even including dirt roads. In the 12 square kilometres of the village, the one main road built many years ago is in desperate need of repair. This is the road linking Bethlehem with the two landmark orthodox Christian convents of Theodosios and Mar Saba which were erected outside Obeidiya centuries ago . Villagers who opened dirt roads to their farm land were brought to the military courts, fined and ordered to close them.

Medical facilities are completely lacking in the village. There are no physicians, no clinics nor medical centres. In emergencies, Obeidiya residents are obliged to drive to the town of Beit Sahour (Shepherds Field) or to the hospitals in Bethlehem. A mobile clinic from the Bethlehem Health Department, visits the village once a week and render's services to the needy. The services are free for those who have the Israeli-sponsored West Bank Health insurance, but relatively expensive for those who do not.

Obeidiya villagers stand confident of victory in their war with authorities against the confiscation of their land and the establishment of an Israeli settlement./AO

There are only three telephones in the entire 8000-person village. There is one in the convent, another in the school, and the third in the post office. But residents say that most of the time they are out of order.

Obeidiya has three schools: two preparatory and one elementary including a kindergarten. Secondary students must attend class in Beit Sahour. A local bus company provides good service to the neighbouring town. A new school was built a few years ago but was not finished for lack of funds. Residents have applied to the joint Jordanian-Palestinian committee but said they have not received anything. Some teachers still recall a promise made by Bethlehem Mayor Elias Freij before the municipality elections in 1976 to pave the courtyard of a newly-built secondary school. They say his promise was never fulfilled.

Probably some of the difficulties facing Obeidiya would have been eased if a municipality or village council existed. But the military authorities insist that such a council should be formed only from the ranks of the village *mukhtars*. The village majority, however, most of whom are youth, refuse. They say that the *mukhtars* do not represent the village. They want a council formed through popular election.

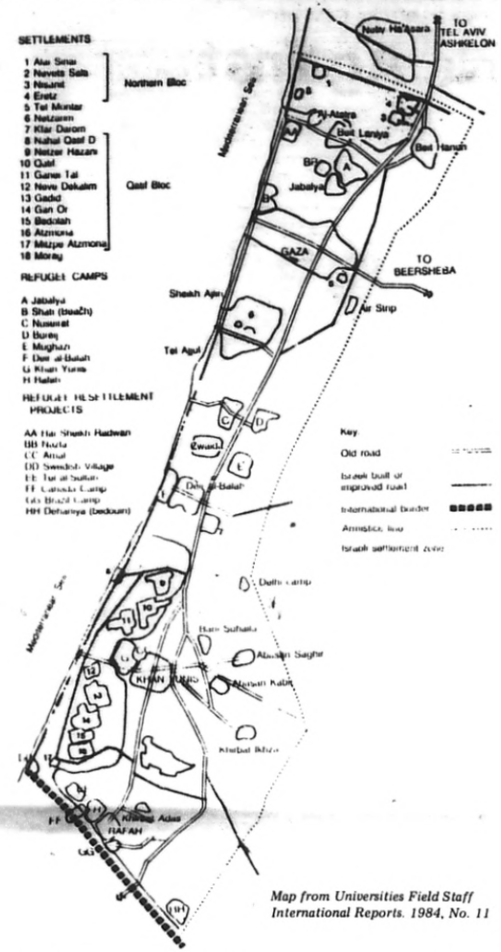
In 1973, the authorities attempted to form a *mukhtar* council, but it soon collapsed when the villagers refused to cooperate with it. In 1981, the village youth formed a Development Committee in the place of a village council. Each clan elected two persons to the committee. The authorities initially agreed to deal with it, but changed their minds after the village once again rejected the establishment of the settlement. In its attempt to revive social activities the committee formed a soccer team which has gained a good reputation in the region. The committee also began building playgrounds but had to stop for lack of funds. Sixty percent of the playgrounds are said to be built and the committee is said to be searching for sources to finance the rest. A request made by the committee to the military authorities for permission to establish a club and a charitable society have not been met yet.

Like most Palestinian villages, Obeidiya has been severely hit by the Israeli occupation. Nearly 2000 of its residents fled to Jordan in the 1967 war. The village economy has deteriorated. The villagers who used to depend on raising livestock and agriculture have had to make do with the new Israeli restrictive regulations. Most of them have become workers in Israeli projects since money is easier there. The worsening agricultural situation of Obeidiya was enhanced, however, by the Israeli confiscation of nearly 65,000 dunums of the village's eastern pastoral lands in 1969. The land was confiscated for 'security reasons'. This constituted a blow to the livestock industry of the village. The confiscated land also included many rain water wells which were collectively owned and used by all the residents of the village for centuries.

In the last seven years or so, many Obeidiya workers have begun to return to their land. The village is now paying unprecedented attention to agricultural development. The village lands have been planted with various kinds of trees estimated at 8000 dunums. Olive trees have been introduced to the village for the first time during the last six years. There are now 40,000 olive trees planted. If such zealous activity will continue, soon the barren hills around the village will receive a new colouring.

There are also 15,000 dunums of village land planted with wheat, which help to make the villagers self-sufficient. To foster this main source of income and to offer assistance to the farmers, 75 villagers began in 1983 an agricultural co-op with limited capital. So far, it has been doing well, but "soon enough it will face serious problems," said Mohammed, the secretary of the co-op. He is an agricultural graduate and a teacher in the village school. "Our capital cannot meet our needs and we are in desperate need of support," he added.

Continued on page 15



Map from Universities Field Staff International Reports. 1984, No. 11

The Camp David Agreement signed in 1978 by Egypt and Israel included a clause that called for an Israeli freeze on settlement building in the occupied territories. Rather than abiding by the principles of this agreement, Israel began an intensified effort to amass settlements in the occupied territories, mainly in the Gaza Strip.

Until 1978, the Gaza Strip had only six settlements in comparison to 26 in the Golan Heights and 66 in the West Bank, including East Jerusalem. After that the number of settlements jumped to 18 and continued to rise.

Three factors delayed construction of settlements in the Strip. The first was geographic location. The Strip was separated from Egypt by the Sinai peninsula which was occupied by Israel in the 1967 Arab-Israeli war. Therefore, it was the Sinai, not the Strip, on which the Israelis concentrated their efforts to reinforce their Western front.

Until the signing of the Camp David accords, Israel had 13 settlements in the Sinai. These were later used in the Egyptian-Israeli peace negotiations to extract concessions and money from the Egyptians and the United States, which was also party to the agreement. Until Israel began planning to withdraw from Sinai, the Gaza Strip was not considered a strategic military location.

The second factor was the fact that the Strip was one of the world's most densely populated areas. Today an average of 1500 persons live in each square kilometer. The Strip has an area of 360 square kilometers with a population of more than 500,000. More than 75 percent are refugees packed tightly into eight camps distributed throughout the Strip not far from major cities.

The third consideration also involved the population of the Strip who led a fierce campaign of resistance to Israeli occupation immediately after 1967. For four full years, the Strip was said to be controlled by the Israeli army during the day and the local resistance at night.

The organized resistance movement annoyed the Israeli government to the point that it decided to appoint an army commander known for his ruthlessness to crush it. Ariel Sharon, former defense minister and currently minister of trade and industry, became the commander of the southern region which included the Gaza Strip. Sharon's crackdown on the resistance movement, in which he employed the most inhumane methods and caused the the entire Strip population to suffer, contributed to the demise of the Gaza resistance by 1971.

Sharon's task was made easier by the expulsion of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) from Jordan. The 1970 war between the royal Jordanian army and the Palestinian commandos and the subsequent expulsion of all PLO fighters from Jordan by 1971 greatly hurt the morale of and the flow of arms to the underground resistance movement in Gaza. By the end of 1971 the Israeli army had a firm grip over the entire Strip.

One method Sharon employed in his war against the Gaza underground was to divide the heavy population concentrated in the camps into clusters of townships distributed over various uninhabited areas of the Strip. Resettlement shantytowns were constructed and thousands of refugees were forcibly removed from their homes and resettled away from the dense area. Then Israeli bulldozers went to work to open wide roads through the refugee camps at the expense of hundreds of homes. The wide roads were opened to facilitate the entry of army patrols into the camps in pursuit of any remaining pockets of resistance and to subdue the camp population in general.

The ever-growing Gaza population was another matter of concern for the Israelis, who wanted to dominate the occupied territories permanently. Israel's plan was to retain the land without the people, thus facilitating the Zionist formula for a purely Jewish state.

Once the Strip resistance movement was crushed and the densely populated areas decreased, Israel began to implement a policy aimed at permanently subjugating the Arab population in hope that this population would leave the country in the future. This was the settlement policy.

According to Rashad Shawwa, a landowner and former mayor of Gaza City, the settlement policy is an "Israeli plan to block attempts to create concentration of Arab areas and the possible future creation of an autonomous or independent state." Shawwa explained that Israel wants to "uproot" the Palestinians from their homeland. He said that with the construction of settlements around Arab residential areas, Israel is hoping to encircle Arab towns to prevent their future expansion. There are thousands of dunums of empty land inside Israel proper, the 76-year-old mayor said. Israel could build industrial, agricultural or residential settlements on such land. There is no moral justification for the construction of settlements on occupied Arab territory already packed with people, he added.

Shawwa pointed out that settlements were constructed on the northern borders of the Strip, east of the major towns and all along the coastal line. This, he said, proves that Israel wants to encircle the Arab towns, a tactic it employed earlier in the West Bank, particularly in East Jerusalem.

What the Palestinians consider more critical than the mere encirclement of Arab towns is the Israeli policy of systematic obliteration of the economic infrastructure of the occupied territories. The settlements are the means by which the government can achieve this goal. Such a policy became clear at the industrial and agricultural level in the Strip.

One of the first settlements built in the Strip was an industrial area called Erez. It was built in 1972 on 800 dunums of "state-owned" land just inside the northern border of the Strip. The Israeli government invited Jewish and Arab businessmen to build factories in Erez and encouraged them by offering low rent for the land used. The contract allowed the tenant to use the land for 49 years after which time the government had the right to either renew the contract or take over whatever business was on the plot. Only two Gazans contracted to start businesses in Erez, but not before most of the area had already been allocated to Jewish industry.

Hashen Shurki Dardanji was one of the Gazans who decided to build a factory in Erez. The other was Abd al-Rahman Darabeh. Dardanji rented four-and-a-half dunums of land at an annual rent of less than one US dollar. He rented the land in 1978 with plans to expand a small chicken feed factory he had in Gaza City. According to the contract, he had only three years to make use of the land, otherwise he would lose rights to it. Within three years, Dardanji built a larger chicken feed factory at the cost of JD240,000. In 1981 the factory started producing 10 tons of chicken feed daily.

The Israeli government, through its programme of agriculture subsidy, supplied grain to the Erez factories. Dardanji was given grain and allowed a 30-day grace period after which he would have to begin making payments for the grain. By contrast, Jewish producers of chicken feed elsewhere in Israel were given a 90-day grace period, which gave them more time to sell their products before paying the government. In this way they did not have to worry about the growing interest rate.

Unable to make payments on time or to compete against his Israeli competitors who were producing 1000 tons of chicken feed a day and selling them at cheaper prices, Dardanji gradually became indebted to several companies. The government also added to his problems by ordering him to pay taxes on a profit of 11 percent when he insisted that his profit did not exceed one percent. According to Dardanji, 11 percent was what the Israeli companies paid in taxes, and therefore the government assumed that he made the same.

In 1984, an Israeli court foreclosed on his Erez factory following a suit by Israelis to whom he owed money. The court appointed a lawyer to take charge of the factory, which was later rented to a Jewish businessman. Dardanji, however, was still forced to pay the government thousands of dollars in back taxes. Unable to do so, he was forced to close his small factory in Gaza City. Now Dardanji is thousands of dollars in debt without any income.

Dardanji says he was fooled by the Israeli government offer to expand his little factory by building a new one in Erez. After all his money had been spent to build the new factory, it was later taken from him and given to an Israeli.

On the agricultural front, Israel played a smarter game. The government encouraged the hundreds of citrus growers in the Strip to convert their dunums from citrus groves to vegetable patches. The government at that time did not allow the Arab citrus growers to compete against Israeli citrus, which hurt Arab farms. At the same time the government informed the Arab farmers that the Israeli Agricsco company would help them market their vegetables.

According to Ghazi Abu Salim, former head of the Gazan Agricultural Cooperative to Produce and Market Vegetables, and Mayor Shawwa, a large number of small citrus farmers fell for the Israeli bait. They said the farmers uprooted their citrus trees, which had been planted for many years, and turned their attention to vegetable growing. Some built hothouses to grow vegetables. Agricsco helped the farmers market their produce in the occupied territories and Eastern Europe only. Western Europe and the US markets were closed to Arab produce but open to Israeli. The area for growing vegetables in Gaza grew from 8000 dunums in 1967 to 50,000 in 1985.

While the Arab farmers were busy turning land to vegetable plantation, Israel was slowly building settlements in the Strip, most of them agricultural outposts. Netsarim was constructed in 1972 south of Gaza City, along with Morag south of Khan Yunis, and Qatif and Netzer Hazani were built north of Khan Yunis in 1973. All these settlements were geared toward agriculture aiming at competing with Gaza producers in the local market.

With the growth of settlements in the 1970s and 1980s, most of which were agricultural, competition with the Arab producers stiffened. By 1985, there were hothouses on 600 dunums of land in the Jewish settlements while the Arab farmers had hothouses on only 450 dunums. This gave the Israelis an edge in marketing vegetables year around.

Then in the 1980s Agricsco also entered the game. It stopped marketing Arab-produced vegetables and turned its attention to vegetables produced by the settlements. This hurt Arab producers who, in addition to having difficulty marketing their produce outside the Gaza Strip, were unable to compete against the low-priced Israeli produce sold in the Strip. Abu Salim said many of the Strip's small farmers are presently suffering from the absence of a market. It was predicted that eventually the famrers will either turn to manual labor in Israeli industry or emigrate in search of a better living elsewhere.

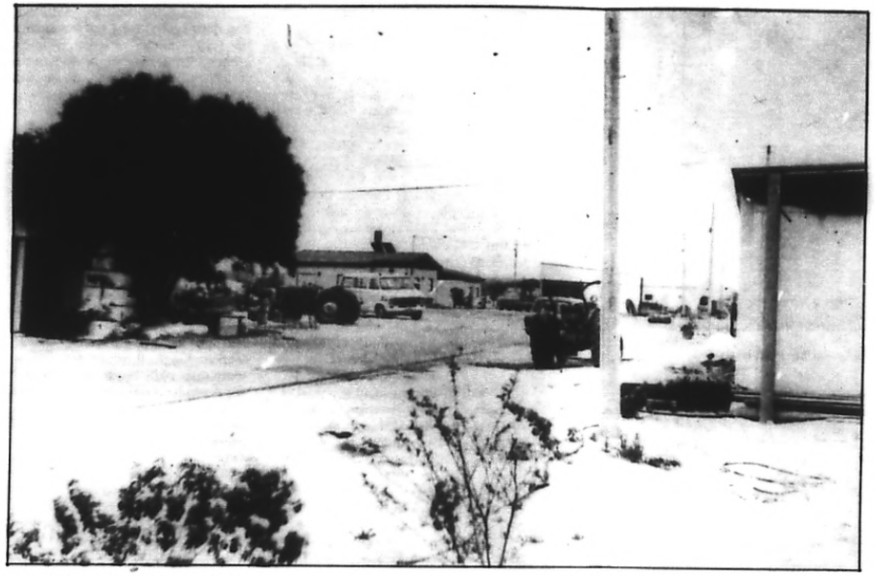
Most of the settlements contructed after 1978 were built on the southern end of the Strip around Khan Yunis and Rafah. They line the coast next to the water acquifers. This also gives the Israelis control over the water resources. According to Abu Salim, the Israeli settlements were allowed to dig 35 artesian wells while the Arabs could not dig even one. In addition, water supplied to Arab farms was limited in quantity. This added to Palestinian farmers' difficulty in properly cultivating their land to compete against Israeli produce.

Settlement construction in the Strip is expected to continue to create facts on the ground intended to make sure the Strip does not meet the same fate as the Sinai. As in the West Bank and the Golan Heights, the settlements block any chances for an Israeli withdrawal from these occupied territories. However, Mayor Shawwa does not see a problem in evacuating the settlers from Gaza in case of a political solution to the Palestinian–Israeli conflict. Not more than 2000 settlers are currently living in Gaza settlements. Many of them do not actually live there but travel back and forth only to work on their farms. Some consider the settlements resort areas where they spend a weekend on the beach.

However for Israel the settlements remain a political card to extract concessions from the Arabs if peace negotiations ever start between them. They can also be turned into frontline military posts in case of outright conflict with neighboring states. Israel now has plans to take the whole coastal line of the Gaza Strip and turn it into a settlement zone. Currently a large area of the coast is closed to Arab construction as the government is planning to turn it into an Israeli beach resort. It is believed that in the near future the southern cluster of settlements will grow to connect with the ones in the north moving along the coast line to completely dominate the entire Mediterranean beach. ■

Gaza Series V:
Coastal Settlements 'Box In' Gaza Farms, Industry

by Maher Abukhater



An agricultural Israeli settlement in Gaza.

TABLE OF SETTLEMENTS IN THE GAZA STRIP

SETTLEMENT	LOCATION	YEAR	AREA/ DUNUMS	GENERAL INFORMATION
Kfar Darom	East of Deir al-Balah	1970	450	Site of 1948 Kibbutz. Torah Studies College was opened in it in 1982.
Netzarim	South of Gaza city	1972	4000	Began as military settlement. Became a cooperative farm in 1980. Built on expropriated land.
Morag	South of Khan Yunis	1972	1800	Agricultural Kibbutz for export. Serves also as military post.
Erez	North end of Strip	1972	800	Military post turned into industrial area.
Qatif	North of Khan Yunis	1973	1500	Agricultural farm for export. Includes religious school.
Netzer Hazani	North of Khan Yunis	1973	2000	Major agricultural post.
Nisanit	North end of Strip	1978	1700	First established as military settlement. Turned into agricultural post.
Gani Tal	North of Khan Yunis	1978	1200	Agricultural settlement.
Gadid	South of Khan Yunis	1978	1200	Relies on growing flowers.
Mitzpeh Atzmonah	South end of Strip	1979	2000	Close to borders with Egypt. Agricultural post. Gush Emunim.
Gan Or	South of Khan Yunis	1980	1000	Agricultural and religious settlement.
Tel Montar	South of Gaza city	1982	200	Overlooks Gaza city. Near airstrip.
Alai Sinai	North end of Strip	1983	800	House settlers evacuated from the Sinai.
Nevets Sala	North end of Strip	1983	?	Extension of Alai Sinai.
Neve Dekalim	West of Khan Yunis	1983	600	Near refugee camp. Central post of Gaza settlements.
Bedolah	North of Rafah	1983	?	House settlers from Morag.
Atzmonah	North of Rafah	1983	?	Agricultural settlement
Rafah Yam	On borders	1984	1000	Fishing area and light industry. Beach resort.

Gaza-Egypt border.

The Rise of the Radical Right

by Aryeh Bander/*Ma'ariv* Weekly Magazine

It hasn't happened yet, but someone in Jerusalem has already composed the scenario.

The story begins on Jordan TV. The final notes of the Israeli national anthem have just been played. Shimon Peres and King Hussein have exchanged a warm handshake. Sonya Peres and Queen Noor have embraced and wiped away a tear. The camera zooms in on the documents of the peace treaty between Israel and Jordan which have just been signed at the royal palace in Amman. The treaty calls for the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries, the exchange of ambassadors, and the creation of a confederation between Jordan and large parts of Judea-Samaria.

Yet even as the two entourages make their way to the festive dinner, even before the ink of the two leaders' signatures has dried on the documents, the streets of Israel's big cities begin to fill with masses of people, who until then had been gluedto their TV screens.

As if in response to an agreed signal, long convoys of demonstrators begin to make their way towards the Knesset, the prime minister's residence, the government compound and the Israel TV building. Many of them are wearing knitted yarmulkes, others sport yellow *"Kach" T-shirts, quite a few are carrying pistols or rifles. Within a half-hour, tens* of thousands of enraged citizens surround the Knesset building. "Remove the disgrace! Overturn the evil decree!" the speakers cry, and the crowd bursts into excited song. The attempts of the Knesset guard to throw back the mob only enflames it. Cries of "Death to the traitors!", "Peres go home!", 'Kahane for prime minister!", are mixed with the sounds of hysterical screaming, whistling and police sirens. The car of the district police chief is overturned, its occupants trapped inside. In a frenzy, the mob storms the fences and bursts into the Knesset grounds. Within seconds the first shots are heard. Someone throws a handgrenade at the guards' booth and a human wave streams towards the building.

The Israeli army has imposed a curfew throughout Judea-Samaria, but only the thoroughly cowed Arabs heed it. The settlers ignore the order and, according to a prearranged plan, move to block roads, blow up the Jordan bridges, destroy the Casabahs of Nablus and Hebron, and establish a string of new settlements in the heart of West Bank cities. From all over Israel reports begin to come in of huge demonstrations, exchanges of fire, and attacks on leftists and Arabs.

A group of armed demonstrators storms the TV building, and within minutes the face of a well-known politician appears on the screen. "Citizens of Israel," he says, "this evening we have come to save the people of Israel, the land of Israel and Israeli democracy. The agreement Peres has signed with Jordan jeopardises our future, the future of our children and our security. We hereby declare that the agreement was signed against the will of the people and in an undemocratic manner. The agreement is dead!"

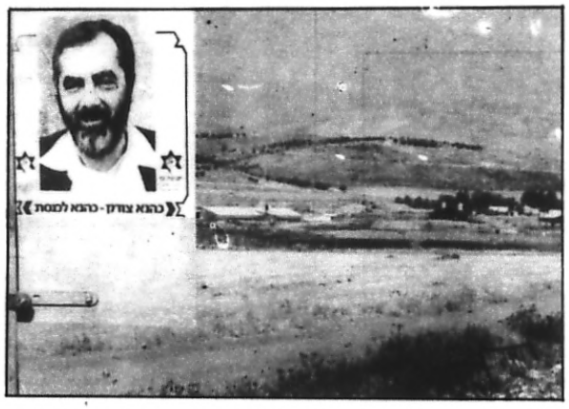
A nightmare? A chimera? Not so, says Professor Ehud Sprinzak, of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, an expert in political extremism. Sprinzak recently completed a study of the right in Israel: Its structure, outlook, developments within it since the signing of the Camp David accords, its attitude towards democracy. "The developments undergone by the right in the past seven years show a growing number of elements that add up to a threat. I am increasingly perturbed by the 'Algerian syndrome' (referring to the French settlers in Algeria who in the 1960s opposed Algerian independence, formed a violent underground, and exerted pressure on the French government to the point where its stability was shaken and a strongman, Charles de Gaulle, came to power under a new constitution). The right in Israel has become extreme to the point where, if someone intends to sign a peace treaty that includes ceding parts of the land of Israel, he must take into account the possibility of an armed uprising against the government. The historical scenario that comes to mind is what happened when France decides to grant independence to Algeria. My analysis leads to the conclusion that the possibility of an armed confrontation cannot be ruled out. I'm not talking about a revolution but about an anti-democratic action by the street aimed at preventing what it regards as treason."

Sprinzak opens his first lecture to *his students by saying, "The picture I'm about to paint for you is bleak, but the* future will be far worse." Today, his study completed, Sprinzak is a troubled man because of the radical right's attitude towards its opponents as traitors and its use of slogans such as "The most sacred thing is the land of Israel" or "Never again Yamit" — slogans for whose sake they are ready to restrict democracy. "The danger lies not with one person or another, but is to be found in the worldview that has been formed and the immense self-confidence of those who hold it: they are convinced that the historical truth is on their side."

Sprinzak doesn't speak of the formation of a new underground but of a situation in which tens of thousands will oppose a withdrawal. In the chaotic situation that will ensue, a certain kind of leadership will be able to direct this section of the public. "It is fortunate for Israel that such concepts are not prevalent in the army, the high command or the security service. But in my estimation there is a high probability of such a confrontation."

Sprinzak's scenario is based on the findings of his study which indicate a sharp shift towards extremism on the Israeli right, which is made up of radical groups such as Tehiya, the central stream of Gush Emunim which nourishes Tehiya, elements in Morasha, Kahane's Kach movement, and extremists who are located between Gush Emunim and Kahane but who loathe the latter and reject him for tactical reasons.

Institutionally, the extreme right crystallised after Camp David. "Until then it existed latently in Herut and the Likud, out of the belief that with Begin everything was attainable. The agreements that Begin signed showed the radicals that the ideological right represented by Begin was characterised by



A Kach poster sporting radical rightist Meir Kahane is posted outside an Israeli settlement.

elements such as recognition of international law, utilisation of the diplomatic game which could lead to political compromises, and honouring of agreements he signed. Since then the radical right has leaped forward and has become the dynamo of the entire right wing."

The heart of the radical right is Gush Emunim. "This is an energetic group characterised by the fact that its actions are accompanied by theoretical thought. It used to be said of A.D. Gordon that for every swipe of his hoe he wrote three books. As for Gush Emunim, for every settlement it establishes, it holds ideological discussions regarding its place in the process of redemption and Zionist realisation. This is the most politically conscious section of the Israel public — hence also its great strength. The members of Gush Emunim are imbued with considerable operational confidence, accompanied by total contempt for the political system and the politicians. From them we can get everything, Gush Emunim believes." In his lengthy interviews and conversations with Gush Emunim activists, Sprinzak came away with the impression that they are the successors of the road and methods of historical MAPAI, which was characterised by pragmatic activism.

As for Herut, which constitutes the ideological right in Sprinzak's classification, it is "a burnt-out camp in terms of ideological vitality. Post-Begin Herut is a total failure. It has lost its Jabotinskyite uniqueness and the balance Begin struck between the Jabotinsky ideology and the populist approach. In no way can Shamir be considered a replacement for Begin. He cannot — and perhaps does not want to — cope with the drift towards radicalism. Nor are the other Herut leader figures capable of stemming the tide. Arens has no historical prerogatives, and David Levy was never a revisionist. He lacks the intellectual and political resources to cope with the pehnomenon. Sharon already represents the radical camp."

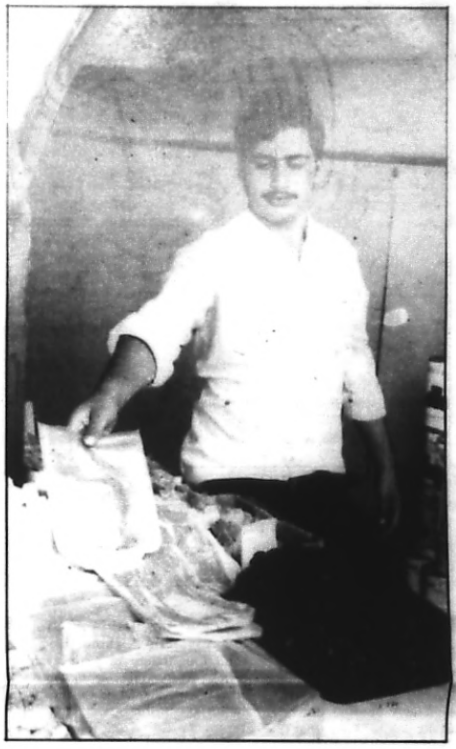
Sprinzak sets aside a place of honour on the map of the political right for the Kach movement and its leader, MK Meir Kahane. "Kahane has a considerable impact on the process of radicalisation of the entire right. One could say that he is the evil spirit of the right as embodied in a living, political being who channels towards him all those persons in whom the evil spirit is strong." Kach is the protest movement of the radical right. "Protest against the impotence of the formal, institutionalised right. Kach has the characteristics of a protest movement because it lacks an organisation, has no alternative leadership, and has no ideologue and no official organ besides brutal leaflets containing a clear message of 'anti-'. Under conditions of a political vacuum, a difficult economic situation, contacts with hated foreigners, the presentation of the left as satanic and a situation of murderous Arab terrorism — this kind of protest movement flourishes."

According to Sprinzak, Kach is a quasi-fascist movement. "Kahane accords legitimisation to every open violent act. In the US he divided his people into two groups. One he called the 'group of scholars' and the other the 'group of animals — and it engaged in street hooliganism. In 1974 Kahane became the father of the concept of 'T.N.T.' [Hebrew initials for 'Terror Against Terror' — Ed.] and ever since then he calls anyone who attacks an Arab a 'Maccabi.' He regards violence as a legitimate means to attain his goals. In the US, and now in Israel as well, he set up training camps for youth. Yet another fascist trait of his is his social Darwinism, meaning that one is constantly under threat by the other side. Beyond the theory, he has a clear sense of the survival of the good and a powerful hatred of strangers. Kach is a movement of one man with a personality cult. Anyone who has tried to develop an independent position has been expelled; they don't even have secretaries. All this characterises fascist movements."

Sprinzak doesn't foresee a bright future for Kach. "Kahane is his own worst enemy. One morning he'll wake up and won't find himself. The question is whether, given his electoral potential, he has a replacement. He does have an ideological replacement, but not one with Kahane's political capability. Kahane is now under tremendous tension. He doesn't know how to swallow his success. He's in ecstasy and will

Continued on page 15

Jerusalem women selling grapes from the recent harvest./AO photo.



A Jerusalem merchant displays his hefty supply of raisins (*Zabib*). AO photo.

From Jam to Jelly to Dip: Grapes Are In Season

by Said al-Ghazali

During the summer, Palestinian villagers spend long hours in the hot months tending to their fields of grapevines. Once taken off the vine, the grape bunches are either sold or used to make several Palestinian dishes eaten throughout the winter.

Al Fajr's **Said al-Ghazali** travelled to his Hebron home where he watched his family harvest the grapes and begin their transformation into *Zabib*, *Debs*, *Malban*, and *Khabisa* as well as grape jam and other common foods. The following is a collection of grape recipes for those interested in this popular and abundant Palestinian fruit.

Zabib (Raisins).

Directions: put 16 cups of water into a large saucepan. Add a cup of olive oil and 250 grams of bicarbonate soda. Stir the mixture for half an hour. Dip each bunch of grapes into the mixture.

Lay out sheets of wax paper. Place the grape bunches on the sheets. Lay them outside in the sunlight for 10 to 15 days depending on the amount of sunshine.

The dried grapes will be red in colour. For a darker hue, add more oil. Every four kilos of grapes produce one kilo of *Zabib* (raisins).

Debs (A mixture similar to molasses eaten with bread).

Directions: Put the grapes on a millstone. For every 50 kilos of grapes, add 1.5 kilos of soft white stonepowder. Crush the mixture with your feet. Pour the liquified grapes — now called *Ra'suq* — in a copper cauldron. Place on the fire for several hours. The colour should be a light red.

Ein Sabeikh (Jam)

Directions: Take the grapes off the bunch and put them in a cauldron. Put the cauldron on the fire. Stir with a wooden spoon. Remove the skin and seeds off the surface. When it becomes jam, add 100 grams of anise.

To remove remaining seeds, boil the mixture for a while and then place it in a large basin. Crush the grapes and force them through a sieve. It is usually eaten with butter, olive oil, or shortening.

Grape Honey

Directions: Crush the grapes mixed with the smooth white stonepowder on a millstone. The liquid is then poured on shallow plates and left to dry in the sun for several days.

Malban (Grape jurkey)

Directions: The liquid of grapes *Ra'suq* taken from 50 kilos of grapes is mixed with six kilos of semolina, small pine seeds and anise. The mixture is wrapped in cloth for three days until dried.

Khabisa (Grape jelly)

Directions: The grape juice is mixed with semolina and boiled until it becomes thick. It is often eaten with bread. Anise and pines seeds are also added for flavour.

A Hebronite man picks the grapes off one of his many vines./AO photo.

ARAB PRESS

The American interception of the Egyptian plane carrying the cruise ship hijackers was the main topic covered by the Palestinian press this week. Local papers condemned the American action calling it an act of piracy.

The cancellation of the meeting of the joint delegation with the British Foreign Secretary was strongly criticised. *Al Fajr* urged the PLO to "rethink" its policy, while *Al Quds* and *Al Sha'ab* attacked Britain for "capitulating" to American pressure. *Al Mithaq* attacked the PLO for "panting" after Britain and the US.

The Decisive Reply

In his statement to NBC, Yasser Arafat pointed out two important points: First, that the PLO, like any other government, cannot monitor everything. Second, that the PLO condemns terrorism against civilians. The first point is a decisive reply to anyone who tries to cast doubt on the seriousness of the PLO in pursuing peace efforts toward a just solution. Abu Ammar pointed out that there are factions outside the PLO that cannot be controlled by it. In addition, he wondered if the hijackers are really Palestinians. The second point is a reply to those who claim that the PLO is an organisation of 'murderers' and 'terrorists.' Therefore we demand all countries that have confidence in the PLO to continue in like manner.

AL FAJR
October 10

The Arab Role of Egypt

The tour undertaken by Osama al-Baz, the political adviser to the Egyptian president, during which he visited Tunis and Algeria, poses once more the issue of the Egyptian role in the Arab world. Isn't it time to restore Egypt to the Arab League? Egypt's efforts and attitudes toward the Palestinian cause are much appreciated. This appreciation was expressed by a high-ranking Algerian official who called for a meeting of the League council to discuss Egypt's return to the Arab Fold. The Egyptian-Arab relations are a solid foundation for joint Arab action. Al-Baz meeting in Tunis *with Yasser Arafat is especially important in* this regard. Egypt's return to the Arab fold is an advanced step on the right path. Brotherly dialogue between the Arabs and the Egyptians is certainly capable of providing the solid foundation for restoring the Arab-Egyptian relations. The Palestinian people are especially interested in having the Arabs reconsider their attitudes toward Egypt.

AL QUDS
October 11

A Full-Scale Terror War !

The US, by its latest operation, has declared war on all Arab peoples and the Palestinian people in particular. This full-scale war is not new. What is new is the dangerous escalation by Reagan's administration, through piracy unknown before. The American administration decided to continue its challenge to Arab feelings and sovereignty and even its attempt to humiliate the Arab regimes. The hijacking of the Egyptian plane is an ugly act of piracy. It is a new blow to the Egyptian regime. Italy also is not exempt from responsibility. This American piracy underlines the extent of American hatred toward the Arab peoples. It emphasises the need to counter American arrogance in ways known to Washington.

AL SHA'AB
October 12

Law: the American Way

The American interception of the Egyptian plane carrying the four hijackers came as a surprise to Egypt and to all the parties which worked for ending the Italian ship affair. This is a new proof that the US still refuses to deal with the root causes of tension in the Middle East. Instead, the American administration resorted to methods that will increase tension and violence and counter-violence. The US should realise that the lack of a just and comprehensive solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict is the major cause for the deterioration and instability in the region. By hijacking the Egyptian plane, the US placed new obstacles in the way of peace. This indicates that the US cannot be the only party in the peace process.

AL QUDS
October 12

American Piracy and Arab Silence

Washington used to intervene through its veto in the Security Council to abort any pro-Palestinian decision. Now it intercepts with its F-14 any success of the Palestinian cause outside the Security Council.

The American act of piracy against the Egyptian plane came at a time when observers agree that the PLO has scored a success in its efforts to end the ship hijacking. The US wanted to tell Italy and Egypt that it placed its military decision above all else by assuming the role of the policeman in the area.

This American act of piracy is not only directed to the peace tendencies, but it is also a blow to the Arabs and Palestinians who had any illusions about an even-handed American attitude. The Palestinians do not feel bitter because of this American piracy, but we feel sorry because of the Arab silence over such an act. The official Arab silence in the face of this American cowboy who declared war on the Palestinians means that the Arabs are not worried by this serious change in the course of events.

AL FAJR
October 14

The British Position

The firm Palestinian stand in rejecting the rude attempts at blackmail by the British government, reaffirms several points that should be understood by all. The important point is that the Palestinian political move is governed by certain limits and principles that cannot be overlooked. Western countries should realise this point. The PLO through the plans adopted by its national councils gave a decisive evidence of its interest in achieving a just peace which guarantees the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. The PLO cannot make any further concessions. The British government is mistaken in thinking that it can outsmart the PLO. Those interested in peace should ask the US and Israel to make concessions and show goodwill. The British position which is a copy of the terrorist American one will be subject to debate alongside with other developments in the Palestinian arena.

AL SHA'AB
October 15

A Slap At Peace Efforts

The British decision to cancel the scheduled meeting with the joint delegation is a major blow to the Amman agreement. It is also a blow to both Jordan and the PLO. The advance pledge required by the British government is similar to the pledge required from a problematic student prior to the start of the school year. How could the British government allow itself to ask for such a pledge? Doesn't the British government realise that the PLO refused to give such a pledge to the American administration? This is proof that the British government cannot act independently from the Americans. In this regard we should like to point out that Jordan and the PLO have gone a long way in advancing the peace process. And we wonder what the other parties have done in this respect. Britain's submission to American pressure is proof that the Western world led by the US still insists on ignoring the political aspects of the cause. No one can, in the future, accuse the Palestinians of hindering the peace process. The coming generations will pay a heavy price for the lack of peace.

AL QUDS
October 15

CALLIGRAPHY, SCULPTURE, PHOTOGRAPHY

Bethlehem University Holds Art Exhibit

A popular Arabic art exhibition was sponsored by Bethlehem University October 13.

The three-part exhibit was seen by scores of interested residents of the occupied territories, artists, cultural attaches of foreign consulates, educators and hundreds of students from local universities and secondary schools. The exhibit included sections on Arabic calligraphy, sculpture and photography.

The Arabic calligraphy exhibit — the fourth of its kind held by the university — was sponsored by the Arabic Language Department in the university. Over 20 professional and amateur calligraphers including some university students and graduates participated by contributing various pieces employing art to enliven the Arabic alphabet. Verses from the Quran and the various names of God in Islam dominated the exhibit as well as Arabic proverbs and poetry. Perhaps the most popular article was calligraphy on a beautifully coloured piece of mother of pearl. Various Islamic words were drawn on the mother of pearl by Samir Yatim, a teacher from Beit Sahour, near Betlehem.

Dr. Costandi Shomali, head of the Arabic Departmept, said the aim of the calligraphy exhibition was to introduce the wonders of the original Arabic letters. It also aimed at documenting such art, to encourage artists in this field, and to influence students so that better attention could be paid to handwriting. Yatim agreed with Dr. Shomali and criticised the lack of interest in Arabic handwriting at local universities. "This field must be given utmost attention," he said. Though most visitors admired the artistic shapes of the calligraphy exhibit, many said they had difficulty reading the words.

The sculpture exhibition featured artist Fawzi Anastas from Bethlehem. On display were 18 portraits and statues made of stone, granite, pottery and wood. Anastas, 37, is an instructor of theoretical and practical art at the university. He studied art at the University of Betrera in Milano, Italy. He is a leading Palestinian sculptor with exhibitions in France, Italy and the occupied territories to his credit.

In the third part of the exhibit, the photographs of artist Nabil Da'ek from Bethlehem were on display. Magnificent shots of various Palestinian villages and towns were exhibited. Da'ek, 35, was educated at the Academy of Fine Arts in Florence, Italy. He has taught in a number of private institutes and now runs a photography shop in Bethlehem. He has also participated in a number of similar exhibitions in this country and in Italy.

The exhibit was both free to the public and involved no payment to the artists themselves. Dr. Shomali criticised artists who declined to participate in the exhibit, charging that some were only interested in making profit. He said that it would have attracted more artist participation had they sent personal invitations rather than public invitations through newspaper ads. "We have found the personal invitation to be a more successful way of attracting artists to participate," Shomali said.

As it has done in previous exhibitions, the Arabic Department is planning to issue a book with photos of all items exhibited in both Arabic and English. It will go on sale locally in the near future.

Cairo, Khartoum Protestors Burn US, Israeli Flags

Anti-American and anti-Israeli demonstrations broke out in the Arab world last week following the US hijacking of an Egyptian airliner. The Egyptian plane was transporting four Palestinian commandos to the PLO in Tunis for trial.

This followed their surrender to Egyptian authorities after a three-day siege on an Italian cruise ship, the *Achille Lauro*.

The fiercest reaction to the US air piracy came from Egypt and Sudan. Thousands of demonstrators burned Israeli and US flags, and chanted slogans denouncing both countries.

Demonstrations led by Cairo University students broke out in the Egyptian capital October 12. More than 20 students were reported injured as a result of clashes between the demonstrators and police. Police reportedly used live ammunition, teargas and clubs to disperse the demonstration.

Slogans against the Camp David accords, the US, Israel and the Egyptian regime were voiced by thousands of demonstrators. Demands to sack Egypt's ambassador to Israel were also heard.

Reports from the Egyptian capital indicated that Egyptian authorities took new measures to protect the Israeli Embassy in the face of growing anti-Israeli sentiment. Trucks loaded with soldiers were seen in the streets of Cairo and in the vicinity of the embassy.

Egyptian Interior Minister Ahmad Rushdi was quoted in the local press as saying that a state of unleashed fury dominated the Egyptian people following the hijack of the Air Egypt plane. He also confirmed the use of force to disperse the demonstrators.

In the Sudanese capital Khartoum, the National Federation of Sudan, an alliance of nationalist political parties and trade unions organised a massive demonstration of 40,000 people October 15. The protest was against both the US hijack of the Egyptian plane and the Israeli attack on the PLO offices in Tunisia. The demonstrators burned Israeli and US flags as they marched in the streets denouncing both states' policies.

Demonstrators swept through the streets of the city reaching the presidential palace where PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat was on an official visit. They held a vigil in front of the residence. The demonstrators chanted slogans against Israel and the US and its Arabs allies. Slogans against negotiations and surrender, and in support of the Palestinian people and their struggle were also aired.

Arafat addressed the demonstrators emphasising that the struggle will continue and the Palestinian Movement will live on in the minds of the Arab people despite conspiracies against it.

Arafat told the crowd that US President Ronald Reagan had decided to assassinate the leadership of the PLO as a way to finish the Palestinian revolution. But, Arafat said, the PLO's answer will be to enhance the armed struggle.

The Sudanese demonstrators tried to enter the US Embassy compound but were stopped by police using teargas. The embassy refused to meet a delegation from the demonstrators who wanted to hand the US diplomats a letter of protest. Instead the letter was then read to the crowd by the head of the delegation, who said the American refusal to receive the letter had been considered an insult to the Sudanese people.

Arabic newspapers in Tunisia, Libya, Morocco, South Yemen and the Arab Gulf states lashed out at the US interception of the Egyptian plane. Observers noted that the Jordanian press, except for *Al Rai* newspaper, remained silent on the matter.

In Damascus, the Cairo demonstration was praised by the Palestinian National Salvation Front, a group of Palestinian factions opposed to PLO Chairman Arafat. The demonstration was seen by the Front and the Syrian press as an expression of the rejection of the Camp David accords by the Arab people of Egypt. Similar reports were aired from Eden and the Gulf.

Killer of Nablus Girl Gets 10 Years

Having "narrowly missed being convicted of murder," Yusef Harnoi was given a 10-year sentence for manslaughter. Harnoi was convicted in the slaying three years ago of an 11-year-old Palestinian girl.

Harnoi, a settler in the Elon Moreh settlement near Nablus, shot and killed Aisha al-Bahsh and wounded her nine-year-old sister Fida' October 10, 1982. He fired an entire submachine gun ammoclip into the al-Bahsh bakery in downtown Nablus where the two girls were sitting.

Reports at the time said that Harnoi had apparently been chasing youths who were throwing stones at Israeli vehicles. Earlier in the day the Israeli army had raided a Nablus cultural exhibit. Eyewitnesses reported that Harnoi stopped at the bakery, which was the only open shop in the area, saw the two girls and opened fire.

Instead of being charged with murder by the Tel Aviv District Court, Harnoi was charged only with manslaughter. After his arrest he claimed to have suffered from epilepsy making him unaware of his actions. It was established in court however that he was not suffering from epilepsy at the time of the murder. However because of his history of the illness, the prosecution reduced the charge to manslaughter. In handing down the sentence, the three-judge panel reportedly noted that Harnoi "narrowly missed" the murder conviction which would have meant a life sentence.

Harnoi will be eligible for parole after he has served two-thirds of his 10-year sentence. During the trial, the judges were quoted as saying that "nothing had been done to provoke Harnoi to shoot into the bakery, but even if there had been, it would not have justified the shooting."

Two other settlers were convicted of helping Harnoi pressure witnesses and destroy evidence. They were sentenced to seven and five months imprisonment.

US Anti-Arab

Continued from page 1

on the Santa Ana bombing, Irv Rubin, Meir Kahane's successor as chairman of the JDL, praised the action, claiming that "Odeh appeared on television to whitewash the PLO murder of Klinghoffer," and that "no Jew or American should shed one tear for the destruction of a PLO Front in Santa Ana or anywhere else in the world." The FBI, contacted by ADC in the past to investigate threats by the JDL, was called onto the scene.

Odeh, a native of Jifna village, near Ramallah on the occupied West Bank, studied at Bir Zeit and an-Najah Universities. After studying economics at the University of Cairo, he came to the US in 1967 and completed his eduation at the University of California. He taught political science at Coastline College and was a member of the Human Relations Committee of the city of Los Angeles. Mr Odeh is survived by his wife and three young daughters aged seven, four and one.

In Odeh's home village, residents have found it difficult to recover from the shock of the death of their son. Even though he lived in the US since 1967, Odeh had visted his village almost every year.

October 9, 1985

3 JERUSALEM YOUTHS GET HEAVY SENTENCES

An Israeli military court in Lydda sentenced Jamal Diab Abu Diab and Osama Taher al-Hashimeh, both from Jerusalem to 20 years imprisonment. The court also sentenced a third youth from Jerusalem, Saqer Suleiman Abu Mandil, to 15 years in prison. The three were charged with membership in a Palestinian organisation and carrying out several attacks.

GAZANS JAILED

An Israeli military court in Gaza sentenced Mahmoud al-Tayeb, 17, of Jabalya refugee camp to 3.5 years in jail and 1.5 years suspended on charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation, recruiting others and carrying out a petrol bomb attack.

Ghaleb Mustafa Uthman, 31, of Nusseirat refugee camp, was sentenced by the same court to 2 years in jail and a similar suspended sentence on charges of illegal possession of arms.

October 10, 1985

GAZANS JAILED, FINED

An Israeli military court in Gaza sentenced 5 youths from the Gaza Strip to various prison terms and fines for security offences.

Said Mohammed Taroush, 23, of Jabalya refugee camp was sentenced to 4 years in prison and 1 year suspended; Kamal Khaled al-Kafarneh, 29, of Beit Hanoun village was also sentenced to 4 years in prison and 1 year suspended, and his brother, Nasser al-Kafarneh, 24, was sentenced to 10 months in prison and 20 months suspended. The three men were charged with membership in a Palestinian organisation and distributing leaflets.

The court also sentenced Yusef Nimber al-Sha'er, 24, of Gaza, to 3 months in jail, 9 months suspended and a IS3 million fine on charges of possession of banned cassettes. Mazen al-Dimasi, 18, also from Gaza, was sentenced to 19 months imprisonment and 1 year suspended on security charges.

PALESTINIAN DETAINED IN RAMALLAH

Israeli forces detained a Palestinian youth in Ramallah on the pretext that he had incited merchants to go on strike, Israel Radio said. Some shops in the centre of the city were closed and the streets were deserted, said the radio report.

YOUTHS FREED

Israeli authorities released Atiyeh Abdel Ati al-Za'anin, 30, of Beit Hanoun near Nablus, after being held in detention for 33 days. Za'anin served in the past a 3-year prison term on charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation.

Also released was Nasser Ata Salameh, of Deir Ammar in the Ramallah area, after 1 month in detention. He was charged with demonstrating.

October 11, 1985

ABU RAHMEH RETURNS HOME

The head of the Lawyers Syndicate in the Gaza Strip Fayes Abu Rahmeh returned home from a two month visit to Jordan and Egypt during which he met with President Hosni Mubarak and King Hussein and discussed with them the situation in the Gaza Strip. Abu Rahmeh has been mentioned as a possible candidate in a joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation for talks with the US and Israel.

Bethlehem University Vice President Father Thomas Scanlan (left) and Beit Sahour Mayor Hanna Atrash (right) view the photographs and calligraphy on display at the university art exhibit./AO

MAPAM DELEGATION TO VISIT GAZA

A delegation from the Israeli left-wing MAPAM party is to visit the Gaza Strip for talks with local leaders over conditions in the occupied territories and the *status quo* in the Middle East.

October 13, 1985

TRAIN STONED

An Israeli train *en route* from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem was stoned as it passed the village of Battir near Jerusalem, Israel Radio reported. It said one of the train's windows was shattered, but no one was hurt.

GAZAN HELD

A Gazan youth was remanded into police custody for 10 days by the Tel Aviv Magistrate's Court on suspicion of planting a bomb on the Tel Aviv coast four months ago. Mohammed Hijazi was detained two days ago and is also suspected of planting another bomb on the Tel Aviv-Jaffa road.

STONES THROWN AT ISRAELI VEHICLE

An Israeli vehicle was stoned as it passed Jabalya refugee camp in the Gaza Strip and its windshield was shattered, Israel Radio reported. No one was hurt.

The radio said soldiers chased a number of boys and detained some of them. Authorities ordered several shops in the vicinity closed and merchants were taken into custody.

3 JABALYA TEENAGERS JAILED

Three youths from Jabalya refugee camp were sentenced to various prison terms by an Israeli military court in Gaza on security charges. Nizar Abdel Rahman Qazzaz was sentenced to 2 years in prison and 1 year suspended; and Jamil Badreh Hamoudeh and Jamjoum al-Atta were each sentenced to 1.5 years in prison and a similar suspended sentence.

The three, aged 17-19, were charged with membership in a Palestinian organisation, providing services and painting graffiti.

EX-PRISONER DIES AFTER RELEASE

An ex-security prisoner who was released from prison 20 days ago for health reasons died. Mahmoud Salim Rabah, 27, a resident of Husan village in the Bethlehem area, served half of a two-year prison term for security offences before he was freed. He had been suffering from heart disease.

RAMALLAH COURT SENTENCES 3 YOUTHS

An Israeli military court in Ramallah sentenced Ahmad Mustafa Ghnaimat to 3 years in prison and 1.5 years suspended and Musa Ahmad Mizyen Hmeidat to 1.5 years in prison and 6 months suspended. The two were charged with membership in a Palestinian organisation and recuiting others.

The same court also sentenced Jamil Sharaka to 3 months in jail and 9 months suspended on charges of contacting "hostile elements".

October 14, 1985

AJA DENOUNCES ISRAELI MEASURES

The Arab Journalists Association denounced Israeli measures against Palestinian journalists and media. At a news conference held at the National Palace Hotel in East Jerusalem, the AJA called for an immediate end to these measures which constitute a flagrant violation of local and international public opinion and international law.

AJA Chairman Radwan Abu Ayyash talked about strict military censorship on Palestinian newspapers and detentions and town-arrests imposed on Palestinian journalists. He called on Israeli authorities to do something about the case of *Al Fajr* reporter Hassam Abdel Halim, who has been missing since October 3.

GAZANS GET TOUGH SENTENCES

An Israeli military court in Gaza sentenced Mustafa Kamal Khalil al-Humam, 32, of Gaza, to 8 years in prison and 2 years suspended on charges of weapons-training and illegal possession of weapons.

The court also sentenced Salim Abdel Nabi, 31, of Jabalya refugee camp to 7 years in jail and 3 years suspended on charges of illegal possession of weapons. Mohammed Hassan Masalhah, 27, of al-Nusseriat refugee camp was sentenced by the same court to 5 years suspended on security charges.

Al Aqsa religion students present an Islamic play in Jerusalem./AO photo.

October 15. 1985

WEST BANK TEENAGERS JAILED

An Israeli military court in Gaza sentenced 4 teenagers from the Gaza Strip to 20 months in prison and 18 months suspended on charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation and attempting to hijack a bus.

The four are: Saleh Musa Abu Hamad, 18; Khalil Shehadeh Mughanam, 19; Ashraf Ibrahim Abu Sarhan, 20; Sami Mousa Abu Hamad, 19. They are all residents of Bani Suheula in the Gaza Strip.

In Nablus, an Israeli military court sentenced Kamal Mohammed Naji Nazzal, 19, of Jenin to 5 years in prison and 3 years suspended on charges of carrying out petrol bomb attacks.

CUSTOMS RAID

Israeli customs officials raided a number of shops in al-Shate' camp in the Gaza Strip, confiscated merchants' files and imposed heavy fines.

20 DHEISHEH RESIDENTS SUMMONED

The Bethlehem military governor summoned 20 residents of Dheisheh refugee camp for interrogation. Last month the governor summoned residents who opposed Israeli-financed projects in the camp.

Demonstrators from the Santam Palestine Solidarity Committee protesting the performace of the Israeli Philharmonica in Tokyo September 14./ Al Fajr's Tokyo Correspondent.

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detainees continues at the offices of the international Red Cross in Nablus, Hebron and Bethlehem. Committees have been formed to organise solidarity strikes.

Al Ittihad newspaper reported October 14 that detainee 'Aiad Ali Saleh from Tulkarm is suffering from heart trouble, anaemia and bronchitis. He was arrested last August 28 with several of the other administrative detainees and like the others was not charged. His arrest was based on the British Mandate Emergency Regulations of 1945 used by occupation authorities to quell active nationalist residents.

Saleh's family asked the International Red Cross office in Nablus to intervene to secure the necessary medical treatment for Aiad. They asked the agency to pressure the authorities to free Aiad so that he can be hospitalised outside the prison.

The family also approached his lawyer Felicia Langer who immediately applied for his release. Later it was revealed that Aiad was transferred to the Ramlah Prison Hospital for two days and then brought back to Jnaid. Langer visited him and reported that his condition is critical.

She said that after he was brought back to Jnaid Prison, he "could not even take part in the hunger strike."

Aiad is a fourth-year Economics and Business Administrations student at an-Najah University in Nablus.

October 18, 20

Theatre: *The Story of the Eye and the Tooth.* El-Hakawati again present their most recent play after months of performances in Jerusalem, the Galilee and Western Europe. At the Nuzha/el-Hakawati Theatre, Jerusalem. 7:00 pm. Telephone: 280957, 288189.

October 19

Theatre: *The Story of the Eye and the Tooth.* At the Nuzha/el-Hakawati Theatre, Jerusalem. 12:30 pm.

October 24

Music: Organ recital by Dieter Kroeker, Braunschweig. Works by Albinoni, Franck, Walther, Bach. At the Lutheran Redeemer Church, Jerusalem. 8:30 pm. Telephone: 282543.

October 24, 25

Theatre: The Jerusalem Al-Jawal Theatre presents this one-man play. Written, directed and performed by Saqer Salaymeh. In Arabic. At the Nuzha/el-Hakawati Theatre. 6:00 pm.

EVENTS IN THE US

October 18 — January 5

Exhibition: The Textile Museum in Washington provides a rare opportunity for the public to view outstanding examples of woven Armenian carpets in an exhibition, "Weavers, Merchants, and Kings".

October 23

Lecture: Meir Merhav, economics editor for the *Jerusalem Post*, presents a lecture, "It's Time to Talk to the PLO," at the John Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, Washington, DC.

October 23-26

Annual Meeting: The Middle East Studies Association will hold a joint meeting with the African Studies Association at the Hyatt-Regency Hotel in New Orleans, La.

November 7-10

Convention: The Association of Arab-American University Graduates will be holding their 18th annual convention, "New Directions for the Arab World, Arab-Americans and the Palestinian Issue," at the Americana Congress Hotel, Chicago, Illinois.

Continued from page 7

The co-op has applied for help from the Jordanian cooperative organization and they are still waiting for an answer. Other board members of the co-op believe the village is now in a period of transition. The laborers are moving back to their land and the co-op has helped to improve the level of agriculture, they say. Services are offered to all farmers in the village.

The co-op now owns a small manually-operated tractor which is also used to spray vegetables. Nearly half of its cost was donated by the Mennonite Centre in Jerusalem. A larger tractor was purchased entirely by the co-op. A few water tanks to transfer water to the villagers were also obtained through the help of the Community Development Foundation. The co-op has been providing farmers with nursery plants, especially live trees. Twenty-five thousand were planted in the village last year. The co-op also supplies farmers with pesticides and livestock feed at cost.

Buying fertilizer and pesticides are some of the issues on the priority list for the co-op. Recently the Agricultural Aid Committee in the West Bank (a voluntary committee of agricultural engineers and veterinarians formed two years ago to help local farmers) has arranged to instruct the farmers on accurate methods of using the pesticides and getting rid of the harmful insects spread in the the area as a result of the humidity and the nearby sewage canal from Jerusalem.

The committee is also helping to overcome some of the soil problems. "Our plan," says Ismael De'ek from the Aid Committee, "is aimed at the livestock development by improving the breeds and creating green pastures on one side and planting trees and olive trees in particular, because they can resist the difficult weather and dry seasons". There are encouraging elements, says De'ek. The high population, the nature of the soil which indicates a possible fertile area, in addition to being the largest pastoral area in the region, all help to give Obeidiya some hope for the future. ■

The Rise

Continued from page 10

therefore also 'burn' himself. Either he'll break the law and be arrested, or he'll get involved in some other trouble. There's also another reason that Kahane's future is far from rosy. Today he's arousing the concern of Tehiya and Gush Emunim. They are now discussing how to deal with him.

"His worldview is black-and-white. He's for a populist approach and bases himself on street demonstrations, protests and so forth, with the aim of restoring decision-making to the 'just' street. The right in Israel has a fundamentalist religious outlook: A concept holding that there are eternal verities which aren't to be overturned by varying conditions. The Jewish people has truths such as the conquest of the land by Joshua. Non-religious circles on the right also admire religious and Zionist fundamentalism. For them Aliya and settlement are fundamental values. "Do not uproot what's been planted" is a cornerstone, irrespective of external circumstances. Such people can maintain that the government is a 'government of the white paper.' The right in Israel encourages extra-parliamentary and illegal activities. It is no shame today to enter into a confrontation with the army."

Yet another characteristic of the radical right in Israel is its absolute belief in power, in the possibility of realising the physical force Israel possesses. Anyone who opposes the use of physical force is considered a traitor, a leftist, a sissy. "The process of the right's formation in Israel is accompanied also by a conspiratorial concept *vis-a-vis* the left. If someone is against you, it's no longer a legitimate opinion but a kind of secret plot to harm your basic interests. The process of delegitimisation of one's opponents is further accompanied by a pre-totalitarian notion of the communications media: they have to be gagged. The emerging view on the right lacks a concept of the rule of law — when the law can help you, it's on your side."

The right is constantly gaining, Sprinzak says, because it is succeeding. "I maintain that this development is being led, and they are succeeding because no force has arisen capable of opposing them. The success of the right doesn't mean electoral success for the Likud but added strength for the right as a whole, particularly its radical wings. In the wake of the Lebanon war the centre gained back votes it had previously lost. Today I see no possibility of an erosion of the right's strength because the other side has nothing prestigious to offer. The left in Israel is pitiful, so my Algerian scenario refers not to an armed clash between the right and the left, but between the right and the government. In its current state the left can formulate intellectual solutions and try to get by on the basis of rational identification, but it has nothing to say to over 50 percent of the population."

In Sprinzak's view, the process of the strengthening of the right and the emergence of a radical camp is irreversible unless a generous Arab peace offer is forthcoming, or unless the Labour movement creates a settlement organisation which will compete with Gush Emunim in the territories: "A young, dynamic movement that will settle on the borders stipulated in the Allon Plan and will contest the hegemony in Judea-Samaria. Let's say that 20,000 such settlers went to Judea-Samaria — then it would be possible to conduct a struggle over a sane policy." Sprinzak doubts whether the growth of the right can be checked.

"In my view, the process will only intensify, mainly due to the fact that reality is playing into the hands of the right. In my estimation the Palestinians are also interested in the flourishing of the radical right in Israel and in an increase in terrorism and in tensions between Jews and Arabs. That will only increase the strength of the right in Israel, and it will become the leading force in Israeli politics and on the street. If in the future the Likud comes back into power without the alignment's partnership, it will have to lean increasingly on the radicals — and thus we are generating irreconcilable tension between two political communities. We are embarked upon a road with no exit. The right today is strong, vigorous and energetic. If my remarks contain a note of criticism, it is because of the fact that the energy of the right today is anti-democratic and anti-human rights. When I began studying radical groups I had to dig in the archives. Who would have believed that we would reach the same probability of street activity as exists in Turkey and Latin America? Who would have believed that we would become integrated into the region in the style of a banana republic?" ■

Britain 'Offends Everyone' By Cancelling Howe-PLO Meeting

by Irene Ertugrul
Our London Correspondent

As the Labour leader in the British House of Lords put it," in one full swoop the government has succeeded in offending everyone." Thus the British hope of injecting life into the Middle East peace process collapsed after three days of utter confusion.

The PLO representatives Mayor Mohammad Milhem and Bishop Elia Khoury arrived in London on separate flights Saturday, October 12. Armed police officers escorted them in armour-plated cars and they spent the weekend under the Special Branch.

British organisations sympathetic to Palestinians had planned to organise press conferences and receptions but were told that access to them would be impossible.

Monday's press was filled with reports of US pressure on Britain to cancel the planned meeting with the Jordanian - Palestinian delegation. British journalists based in Israel report on the Israeli government screening of an old TV interview with Bishop Khoury where he acknowledges that explosives were contained in a package that he transmitted from Jerusalem to Ramallah. Britain's 400,000-strong Jewish community reiterated their complete opposition to the meeting and scheduled a mass protest rally on Monday evening.

The British/Israel Public Affairs Committee paid for a full-page ad in *The Times* citing statements by Milhem and Khoury which, in effect, emphasize the need to continue the armed struggle while at the same time exploring avenues of negotiations. Not surprisingly, no mention in the ads was made of what Israel would receive in return for the settlement of the conflict.

In the face of all this pressure, foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe was expected nevertheless to stand by his pledge made Sunday, October 13. "We think that if we are to end the continuous confrontation between Israel and the Palestinians we have to encourage those men who favour negotiations and moderation and who repudiate violence," he said.

The abrupt announcement on 9:00 am Monday that talks had been cancelled came as a shock. What really happened long remained unclear, but it was at first rumoured that one of the PLO delegates (not immediately clear which one) had refused to sign a prepared statement because he was unwilling to renounce violence.

In the confusion of charge and counter charge, it was only the editorial of Tuesday's *Guardian* that seemed to make sense. Calling the cancellation of the meeting "one of the most damaging errors of judgment in recent British diplomacy" it predicted that this extraordinary diplomatic snub will harm British interests in the Middle East. But more than that, "what chiefly suffers from the sudden panic shown in Whitehall is the maintenance of any semblance of a peace process. The Israeli government will not let the Palestinians, as represented by the PLO, decide who shall speak for them in negotiations. These strangleholds on US regional diplomacy indicate that the Americans will not talk to anyone of whom the Israelis disapprove. Now it appears that Britain also cannot decide for itself who are and who are not proper persons (persons who, incidentally, have risked their lives at the hands of PLO extremists by coming here at all)."

"That would be less astonishing," *The Guardian* continued, "had not Mrs. Thatcher been aware of all these risks when she invited Mohammad Milhem (a mayor elected by West Bank Palestinians and deported by Israel) and Bishop Elia Khoury. She vouched for their peaceful credentials in terms rather more vigorous than they were prepared to employ themselves."

Referring to the Venice Declaration of 1980 (signed by Mrs Thatcher) which stressed that the Palestinian people and the PLO would have to be associated in negotiations leading to an 'honest' settlement of the conflict, *The Guardian* asked " 'who if not Mr Milhem and Bishop Khoury and their like, are the PLO 'which will have to be? Where are those people to be found who before negotiations begin will give Israel the only thing — pre-recognition of statehood — which it has not been able to take by force? They do not exist. Recognition must be mutual. What steps has Israel taken towards a recognition of the 'legitimate rights of the Palestinian people' (the Venice Declaration again)?"

Confusion continued as the Archbishop of Canterbury tried to salvage something out of the fiasco by meeting with Bishop Khoury for several hours. He authorised his spokesman Terry Waipe to state that Khoury "categorically deplores all acts of terrorism and violence from whatever sources they come," and added that by refusing to meet him the government risked alienating moderate opinion among Palestinians. Needless to say the Archbishop's meeting with Khoury was also bitterly criticised by supporters of Israel who regretted seeing their triumph in any way diluted.

As the heated argument continued, it was a member of the House of Lords who aptly summed up the irony of the situation. "On the subject of terrorism it is perfectly acceptable not to speak to the Bishop who may or may not have smuggled an old rifle across the border. But it is totally acceptable to talk with the Prime Minister of Israel who ordered the bombing of a neutral capital and set up a terrorist militia in south Lebanon," he said.

Margaret Thatcher: *A Diplomatic blunder*

By Wednesday, Milhem who, it had emerged, was the PLO delegate accused of either refusing to renounce terrorism or of not accepting Israel's right to exist finally made his own position clear in an interview with *The Daily Telegraph*. "Of course I condemn terrorism from any sort and I am in favour of a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli dispute based on the relevant UN resolutions." Since the statement that the Foreign Office had prepared for him to sign, however, spoke of recognising Israel within its 1967 borders," Milhem explained this was the sticking point. "How could I define the borders of Israel when the government of Israel itself has so far failed to mark the borders?" was his response.

A *Guardian* report from Tunis by David Hirst, also on Wednesday, shed a bit more light on the complicated events that had occurred. Hirst quoted Khaled al-Hassan, the prime architect of Arafat's peace diplomacy, as saying, "There were no negotiations between Jordan and the PLO on the text of the proposed declaration. Late last week, Jordan simply handed the text which the British had prepared to Bishop Khoury. Since he was about to take off for the talks, he had no time to consult anyone on the matter. The Jordanians had no part in formulating the text. It was purely British." The PLO spokesman added that the British text was at odds with Thatcher's original invitation and with the Jordanian-PLO agreement of February 11. Milhem in London said that he had called the PLO chairman to discuss amendments to the text. These were put to the Foreign office, but the British insisted on the original version."

"As for the text itself," Hassan said, "the PLO objected to three main points. In expressing support for a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli dispute, the PLO — through its two representatives — want to stress the validity of all UN resolutions since 1948 rather than just the Security Council resolutions 242 and 338 with their built in bias towards Israel." Rather than recognising Israel's right to a secure existence within the 1967 borders, it also wanted the 1982 Fez Formulation, which left Israel's prime boundaries undefined. instead of 'opposition to all forms of terrorism and violence from whatever source,' the PLO wanted a distinction made between terrorism and the armed struggle which the UN recognises as legitimate."

King Hussein interviewed on Wednesday evening tried to smooth out what Shadow Foreign Secretary Dennis Healey spoke of as "an apalling diplomatic shambles." Although scarcely concealing his anger at the one sided "American policy," he tried to avoid incriminating either the British government or the Palestinians. He stated "When we get back to our part of the world, we will have to reassess the position with the PLO and see what went wrong and how it can be corrected.

Contradictory explanations continued to emerge in Thursday's press. It was reported for the first time that neither Milhem nor Khoury saw the draft agreement until they arrived in London and when they met a senior foreign officer. They immediately asked for time to study it. Bishop Khoury accepted the text but Milhem couldn't. The *Guardian's* diplomatic correspondent adds that the British ambassador in Amman, John Cole, had been assured by Jordanians that the draft agreed in final form last Thursday October 10 had been accepted by the two PLO men. But neither had seen it at that stage."

PRESS CONFERENCE GIVEN BY THE PRIME MINISTER, MRS. THATCHER, IN AQABA ON FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 1987

PRIME MINISTER: FIRST, ONE OF THE REASONS I CAME ... TO ACTIFY AN OMISSION, NAMELY, THAT A PRIME MINISTER IN OFFICE HAS NOT VISITED JORDAN. SO VERY PLEASED TO HAVE BEEN THE FIRST AND I WOULDN'T TO HAVE COME THAT.

IT IS EXTREMELY HELPFUL TO HAVE BEEN AT FAIRTHAM, SOME OF THE PROBLEMS WHICH THE MIDDLE EAST FACES. I WANT TO THANK BOTH HIS MAJESTY AND THE PRIME MINISTER FOR THE EXCELLENT BRIEFINGS WHICH THEY HAVE MADE TO ENABLE ME TO SEE SO MANY PEOPLE AND SO MANY PLACES IN THIS VERY BRIEF VISIT.

IN THIS MORNING, WE SAW VERY GOOD EXAMPLES OF COOPERATION BETWEEN JORDAN AND THE UNITED KINGDOM AND INDEED, THE SPIRIT OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION HAS REALLY BEEN THE KEYNOTE OF THIS VISIT THROUGHOUT.

AS YOU KNOW, I HAVE STRESSED THAT I MUST AT ALL TIMES SUPPORTIVE OF HUSSEIN'S INITIATIVE AND ONE OF THE MAIN OBJECTIVES IN PARIS THIS DAY WAS TO SUPPORT JORDAN, AS ... MODERATE ARAB STATE, IN ITS EFFORTS TO PROMOTE PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. I HAVE THEREFORE ASKED THAT THE FOREIGN SECRETARY WILL RECEIVE IN LONDON SHORTLY THE JORDANIAN-PALESTINIAN DELEGATION AS SOON AS THIS CAN BE ARRANGED. THE MEMBERS OF THIS DELEGATION WILL BE, BY THE JORDANIAN SIDE, THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AND THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, AND, BY THE PALESTINIAN SIDE, BISHOP KHOURY AND MR. MILHEM, THE FORMER MAYOR OF HALHUL (PHON.).

WE KNOW BISHOP KHOURY AND MR. MILHEM TO BE MEN OF PEACE. THEY PERSONALLY SUPPORT A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT ON THE BASIS OF THE RELEVANT UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTIONS AND ARE OPPOSED TO TERRORISM AND VIOLENCE, AND THAT THEY WILL CONVEY THEIR VIEWS TO THE PLO LEADERSHIP.

I HOPE THAT THIS WILL BE SEEN AS A FRESH AND CONSTRUCTIVE STEP TO SUPPORT KING HUSSEIN'S INITIATIVE. THAT IS ITS PURPOSE.

QUESTION: (STRONG ACCENT, SOMETHING DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND) ... I WANT TO ASK ONE CONCRETE QUESTION, HIS MAJESTY KING HUSSEIN ANNOUNCED, IN THE PRESENCE OF YOURSELF TODAY AND, THAT ... IT IS SO IN THE JORDANIAN-PALESTINIAN INITIATIVE IS THAT IT IS BASED ON TWO MAJOR ISSUES. THE FIRST ONE IS THAT THE PARTIES OF THE CONFLICT ... OF THE SETTLEMENT, AND THAT WILL PAVE THE WAY FOR THE PARTICIPATION OF THE PLO IN THE PEACE PROCESS. THE SECOND ... AS HIS MAJESTY SAID - IS THAT THE PARTIES SHOULD SEEK PEACE ON AN EQUITABLE BASIS TO REACH A BALANCED AND EQUIVALENT SOLUTION UNDER THE AUSPICES OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE.

TOP: the text of Thatcher's September 28 statement in Aqaba. BELOW: the October 14 statement by Sir Geoffrey Howe./ Courtesy of the British Consulate, Jerusalem.

THE PRIME MINISTER ANNOUNCED IN AQABA ON 20 SEPTEMBER THE VISIT OF A JOINT JORDANIAN/ PALESTINIAN DELEGATION. THE TWO PALESTINIAN NAMES WERE PUT FORWARD ON THE UNDERSTANDING THAT THEY PERSONALLY SUPPORTED A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE ARAB/ISRAEL DISPUTE ON THE BASIS OF THE RELEVANT UN RESOLUTIONS AND WERE OPPOSED TO TERRORISM AND VIOLENCE. WE RECEIVED UNAMBIGUOUS ASSURANCES THAT BISHOP KHOURI AND MR MILHEM WOULD MAKE THIS CLEAR PUBLICLY DURING THEIR STAY IN LONDON.

AFTER THEIR ARRIVAL IN LONDON THE TWO PALESTINIANS SAID THAT THEY WERE NOT, AFTER ALL, WILLING TO ASSOCIATE THEMSELVES WITH A STATEMENT AGREED WITH THE JORDANIAN MEMBERS OF THE DELEGATION WHICH CONTAINED EXPLICIT REFERENCES BOTH TO ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST WITHIN SECURE AND RECOGNISED BORDERS AND TO THE RIGHT OF THE PALESTINIANS TO SELF-DETERMINATION. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, WE HAVE CONCLUDED THAT THE MEETING WITH THE JOINT DELEGATION CANNOT NOW TAKE PLACE. THE JORDANIAN DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AND THE JORDANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER WILL CALL ON ME THIS MORNING.

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY MUST BE READY TO ENCOURAGE THOSE WILLING TO TAKE RISKS FOR PEACE AS THE MIDDLE EAST ... WE HAVE SEEN READY TO DO SO. THERE CAN BE NO LASTING SETTLEMENT UNTIL ALL OTHERS ARE READY TO DO THE SAME. WE ARE DEEPLY DISAPPOINTED THAT THE OPPORTUNITY OFFERED BY THIS MEETING HAS BEEN MISSED. ENDS.